I. FOREWORD

When the National Publishing Company in Leipzig approached me with the request to write a book about the Sino-Japanese war of our days, I was well aware of the difficulty of the task. After a short consideration, however, I gladly agreed, because I had familiarized myself with the events and, on the other hand, had to agree with the publisher that too little is known in Germany about those events in faraway East Asia, but that there might be a desire to be informed about them in more detail than the only sporadically appearing news of the daily press and the magazine literature are able to convey.

When the plan to write the present book came into being, the latest events were still unknown. Above all, there was still no talk of Germany, Italy, and Japan joining together in the Three-Power Pact in the sense of the reorganization of the world they were striving for. This pact has awakened or revived the interest of wide circles in the events in East Asia, so that an overall account of the developments which led to the pact, so far as they concern East Asia, must now appear even more desirable than before.

Since it concerns above all warlike events, these had to have priority with the representation. Nevertheless, no war-historical representation in the actual sense of the word has been created, but probably for the first time an overall representation of these events. In addition, the political problems were not disregarded, but integrated at the appropriate place, so that the reader is informed as completely as possible.

In 1939, the author himself stayed in the Far East. As a result, the home study could be effectively supported by the observation on the spot.

In the field in the East, July 1941.

The author.

FOREWORD TO THE THIRD EDITION

The present volume is the third edition of the book "The War in the Far East", which was published in two editions in 1941/42. Only minor changes have been made in the text of this third edition. On the other hand, the title has been changed to "The War in East Asia" by mutual agreement between the author and the publisher. The reason for this is as follows: "The War in the Far East" dealt only with the Sino-Japanese conflict from 1937 to the time of the conclusion of the Three-Power Pact between Germany, Italy and Japan on September 27, 1940. When the manuscript was completed, the crisis in Japan's relations with the United States and England had already taken sharp shape, but there were still no signs of a decisive nature that war between the three powers would occur in the foreseeable future. Since December 7, 1941, Japan has been engaged in a struggle for its living space with the aforementioned powers, and it regards the conflict with China and the war against the United States and England as one great interrelated event in its history. It therefore gave them both the title: "The War of Greater East Asia". For the author and publisher, this resulted in the necessity of continuing the volume "The War in the Far East" in this sense. The presentation then had to be brought under a common title, for which "The War in East Asia" was chosen as the most appropriate. Thus the I. volume appears under this new title, which will also be borne by the II. volume, which is already in preparation, and further volumes, if such an extension should prove necessary.

Berlin, March 1943.

The author.

II. THE PREHISTORY

"Wednesday night of July 7, 1937, a small unit of Japanese troops conducted exercises in their customary area near Lukouchiao and Lungwangmiao, at villages located on the left bank of the Yungting River. In the course of the summer survey, which was brought forward by a fortnight, all Japanese troops had been practicing day and night in this area for weeks. As usual, the Chinese

authorities had been informed of these maneuvers, and nothing had occurred or attracted attention until then.

Suddenly, however, at 11:40 at night on the said day, the Japanese troops were fired upon by Chinese soldiers from the directions of Lukouchiao and Lungwangmiao. This came as a complete surprise to the Japanese, and they were quite unprepared to return fire, for they were only 150 men strong and their ammunition equipment amounted to only one cartridge frame for each man in the hands of the commanding officer. All they could do at the critical moment was to cease maneuvering, mass at a place distant from the Chinese, and bring in reinforcements from their headquarters, which was about two and a half miles away in the former British barracks at Fengtai. Reinforcements came up rapidly, and then when the Japanese answered the Chinese with sharp shots, the first clash occurred."

This was the first official report issued by the Japanese on the Lukouchiao and Marco Bridge skirmishes, which marked the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war. The Chinese side did not accept this interpretation of the first clash southwest of Beijing, but believed that the first shooting was the result of one of the many Japanese challenges on Chinese soil, aimed at breaking up National China before it was fully consolidated.

After the war, which has never been declared, had already lasted 18 months, the strongest personality on the Chinese side took the floor on the objectives announced by Japan. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek spoke of the Chinese people's dislike of Japan, which the Japanese had created in the minds of the Chinese people through their misdeeds. Chiang Kai-shek saw Japan's goal toward China as Japan seeking to destroy China's national existence through political, economic, and cultural means, while at the same time seeking to dominate it through the same means. In the larger scheme of things, in Chiang Kai-shek's view, Japan's aim was the overthrow of the international order in East Asia and the enslavement of China as a means by which Japan could dominate the Pacific Ocean and proceed to the destruction of other states in the world.

The Japanese view, which was asserted at about the same time and, according to the formulation, may have been put into words by the Japanese Prime Minister Prince Fumimaro Konoye himself during his first prime ministership, is completely different. It was vigorously denied from the outset that there were any feelings of hatred in Japan toward the Chinese people. It was repeatedly emphasized that the war was being waged for the purpose of eliminating Chinese misunderstanding and bringing about Sino-Japanese friendship, thus bringing peace and prosperity to East Asia. Just as it was impossible for Japan to live in prosperity and peace if China maintained its hostile attitude toward Japan, so China could not advance without Japan's goodwill and friendship. Friendly relations were essential for Japan's and China's existence, he said. That was how it had been in the past, and that was how it would always be. The clash would have occurred because both were driven by a force acting outside themselves and against their own will. In the course of the war, Japan had realized with increasing clarity that China was dancing its death dance to the song of hatred and war that sounded from the invisible background.

In these mutual views, profound contrasts become apparent, knowledge of which seems indispensable for understanding the events, but which nowhere reveal a bridge that could lead to mutual understanding.

That this mutual misunderstanding did not emerge spontaneously should be obvious. The historical development gives the proof for it. On the other hand, the European should be cautious in making judgments when it is a question of the feelings of oriental peoples and, what is more, of such a profound nature as in the great dispute between China and Japan. Japan has been the only East Asian state never to have inserted itself politically into the vassal relationship with the Chinese world state. Its first trade treaty with China, concluded in 1871, was drawn up on essentially the same principles as the corresponding treaties of the European states. Japan did not allow itself to be subjugated by the cultural

influences coming from China to its islands, but used them extensively and fruitfully to build up its own culture. China, on the other hand, which was increasingly falling into a state of torpor, had to experience at its own gates how this nation, so limited in space and so small in population compared to the many millions of Chinese, was rising to become a powerful state, a great and world power. This must have given rise to feelings of envy, the existence of which cannot be denied, otherwise Chiang Kai-shek would not have insisted on making up for centuries of neglect, as he did with the creation of his "New Life" movement.

The internal antagonism between China and Japan, these peoples of the same race, which they largely are, even if Japan has inherent elements which China does not possess and which took their origin from the island groups of the Pacific Ocean, was deepened when Japan, attracted as an island state by the mainland, broke into China's sphere of power. This antagonism, far from weakening, was brought to a head with great force by the war that began in 1937. Korea, separated from the Japanese islands only by a narrow arm of the sea, was considered an obvious target for such an incursion. Korea was under the sovereignty of China and for many years paid tribute to the Chinese emperor in kind. China was Korea's protecting power. A Japanese attack on the peninsula, such as was led victoriously but without lasting effect by the shogun Hideyoshi as early as the end of the 16th century, was an attack on China's sphere of influence. Exactly 300 years passed before Japan repeated this grab for the mainland, when in the spring of 1894 a xenophobic movement was unleashed in South Korea, directed primarily against Japan. The King of Korea - who did not make himself emperor until 1897 - turned for help to China, which, under earlier arrangements dating back to 1885, requested Japan to send some gunboats to take over the protection of Japanese subjects. Japan went beyond this request and landed a strong force of troops before which the Chinese troops did not leave the field. Finally, on August 1, 1894, both countries declared war, which in its short course revealed China's utter powerlessness. Japan was not to be entirely happy with its victory. It did acquire the large Chinese island of Formosa and the islands of the Pescadores lying between it and the mainland. But its main goal, to gain a firm foothold on the East Asian continent, was thwarted, since the possession of the Liautung Peninsula, after the successful conquest of Port Arthur with many sacrifices, was taken out of its hands again by the intervention of the great European powers Russia, France and Germany after the Peace of Shimonoseki. As a less than full compensation, China paid Japan a war indemnity.

If Japan could not forget this forced renunciation, the loss became even more serious when three years later Russia had the Liautung Peninsula transferred to it as a lease from China for 2 j years. A new struggle by Japan for the territory, which had already been won once and lost again, was inevitable. National honor alone urged it, quite apart from the fact that Russia had become a dangerous rival of Japan on the continent. In ten years it was time. For the second time, even greater blood sacrifices had to be made in the conquest of Port Arthur, since the Russians, extending the existing Chinese fortifications, had made of it a very strong fortress. On the battlefields of southern Manchuria, too, the Japanese victories, which were received with amazement by the world, required great effort and corresponding losses. In the Peace of Portsmouth, the long-awaited and hotly contested goal was achieved: the Russian leased territory of Liautung with Dairen and Port Arthur came to Japan, into whose possession, moreover, the railroad from Dairen northward to Changchun, now Hsinking, was taken. Thus, for the first time, Japan had gained a firm foothold on the East Asian continent. It had broken into the Chinese empire.

Tokyo's interest now turned once again to Korea. There, on October 8, 1895, the queen had been assassinated in her palace. The king fled to the Russian legation on February 11, 1896. He remained there until February 20, 1897, when he moved to the new palace. In the meantime, an agreement had been concluded between Russia and Japan on May 14, 1896, according to which Japan was to withdraw

its troops except for a few hundred guarding them. Russia was to have the same right. Then the Russians went a step further and set about reorganizing the Korean army. To show his full independence, the Korean king made himself emperor. Finally, Japan and Russia supplemented their agreement of 1898 by finally recognizing the independence and autonomy of Korea. In reality, Korea counted as part of the Russian sphere of influence. However, Japan could not renounce Korea if it did not want to give up its entire future position in East Asia.

Japan's victory over Russia had also brought its influence in Korea to a halt. As early as the entry into Korea in 1904, a treaty had been imposed on the emperor by Japan that made Korea dependent on Japan. On November 17, 1905, a more formal treaty was imposed by Japan, which placed Korea's foreign policy in the hands of the Japanese. In addition, a Japanese Resident General was to be based in the Korean capital. Prince Ito, one of the most outstanding personalities from the time of the great Emperor Meiji, from the era of Japan's rise to a modern state, was the first Resident General in Korea. However, he was too soft for the representatives of the sharper direction in Tokyo. He left the field and resigned from his post in July 1909. When he traveled to Harbin for negotiations with the Russians on Manchurian issues, he was hit there on October 26, 1909, by the bullet of a Korean fanatic who wanted to take revenge for the 1905 treaty. Now Korea did not escape its fate. There were stormy calls in Japanese political associations for the annexation of Korea. On August 23, 1910, this step took the form of a treaty in which the Korean Emperor ceded his rights to the Japanese Emperor, who annexed Korea to the Japanese Empire. Korea is therefore not a colony of Japan, but a part of the Empire as a whole. It is under the control of a governor general. The magnificent building of the governor-general's office, set close to the imperial palace, completely hides the extensive palace complex, as if to make it clear who alone was to determine Korea's fate in the future. With the establishment of the Japanese General Government, the Korean imperial house had been eliminated. The younger son of the last emperor, Prince Yi, was married to the Japanese princess Masako Nashi- moto and lives in Tokyo with an apanage of 1.5 million yen dished out by the Japanese government, which was later increased to 1.8 million yen as prices rose. Prince Yi holds the rank of major general in the Japanese army and frequents the Japanese imperial court. Now Japan already had two feet firmly planted on the East Asian mainland. No objection to the annexation of Korea had been made by any side.

Japan took advantage of the world war to advance its Manchurian plans. The collapse of Russia in 1917 facilitated Japan's plans, since after the Russian Revolution all agreements made between Russia and China in these matters ceased to exist. Economically, as well as politically, the South Manchurian Railway became the backbone of this policy. The railroad guards that Japan could keep on the railroad, as Russia was already allowed to do, became battalions. In addition, Japanese post offices and consular guards brought channels into Japan's hands through which it could advance its plans. At the end of the World War, Japan participated in the international expedition that moved westward from Vladivostok through Manchuria and brought the Japanese as far as the area east of Lake Baikal. Then this adventurous enterprise collapsed. Japan fell back on Vladivostok, but initially maintained its occupation there. The bloodbath of Nikolaevsk at the mouth of the Amur River, where the entire Japanese colony was gunned down by a fanatical Cossack leader, gave Japan cause to occupy this important port site and, at the same time, the Russian northern half of Sakhalin Island. In Manchuria, Japan found in the Chinese Governor General Marshal Chang Tso-lin a henchman who could transform it from the brigand chief to

had brought this high position and was confirmed by the Chinese government.

America, which had already tried to disrupt Japan's action in 1898 with its Manchurian railroad plans but failed at the time because of resistance from Japan and Russia, used the Washington Fleet Limitation Conference to eliminate Japan's pre-eminence gained on the East Asian continent during the World

War. Japan was placed second behind England and America in its naval armament and signed the Nine-Power Treaty on China to guarantee its integrity. This treaty played out many times later, especially in Japanese-American relations. In addition, Japan made several binding promises in Washington that deprived it of all its World War acquisitions, including the formerly German Kiauchau territory, which it had occupied with British support in September 1914. Kiauchau reverted to China.
Still other promises made by Japan in Washington wrested from it further supports on the East Asian continent. It had to withdraw its battalions in Manchuria. Nikolayevsk and the northern part of Sakhalin north of the 50th parallel were given to Soviet Russia only after negotiations with it. The most painful thing was probably the evacuation of the Vladivostok area and the fortress itself, which was completed on October 24, 1922. The next day the Soviet occupation moved in. Various rulers had benevolently supported Japan there. First the Merkulov brothers, then the Russian General Diederichs, and finally the Ataman Semenov, but he was rejected by the population itself. Also a small Pacific rege-
2 Mossdorf, East Asia Japan had to enter into an agreement with America by granting America a share in the cable island of Yap.
Bitter renunciations Japan had to take without forgetting them. The great earthquake of i. September 1923 was not conducive to resuming the former continental policy with full sails. With great energy, however, the damage was repaired in a short time. A more modern Tokyo and Yokohama emerged from the ashes and rubble of that blackest day in Japan's history. The strings to Beijing and Manchuria were soon tightened. In Peking, it was the Anfu Club that cooperated with Japan; in Manchuria, Marshal Chang Tso-lin continued to show himself inclined to go along with Japan. The conditions of the East China Railway through North Manchuria as a connection from the Siberian Railway to Vladivostok had remained unclear. During and after the International Expedition, the railroad had been managed internationally by an American engineer. Then a Belorussian president, Horwath by name, from the old staff of the Russian administration, took the head of the administration. Now, however, Soviet Russia entered the scene, even though it had relinquished all Tsarist-era rights to China in 1919 and 1920. By treaties with the Peking government and with Chang Tso-lin of May 31 and September 20, 1924, it had its share in the equal administration of the railroad returned to it together with China. In the same year, America issued its strict ban on immigration for all Orientals, Indians, Siamese, Chinese and Japanese. Japan's eyes were all the more turned to Manchuria, where only 28 million people lived on land twice the size of Japan, to accommodate its surplus population.
The mysterious Tanaka memorandum is dated 18
It is said to have been drafted by the Japanese Prime Minister, General Baron Tanaka, and submitted to the Japanese Emperor. It speaks of a policy of expansion of Japan to the mainland on the largest scale. The conquest of China is at the top. Other conquests are to include Lower India and India itself. Anti-Japanese propaganda in China has seized the memorandum and used it again and again for its own purposes. Japanese officials have denied the authenticity of the document. This anti-Japanese propaganda started in 1915, when Japan, taking advantage of the world war boom, presented China with the infamous 21 Demands, which were intended to exert far-reaching influence on China's domestic life. At that time, the great powers were too preoccupied with European events to pay particular attention to this Japanese action. Only America, which had its hands free at the time, prevailed upon Japan to drop Part V of the demands, which related to financial control of China. In the 21 demands whose acceptance Japan forced by an ultimatum of May 7, 1915-that day has since become a national day of mourning in China-Japan had secured a very important concession that deepened its penetration of Manchuria. The Russians had been granted a 2$ year lease of the Liautung Peninsula from China. The acquisition had taken place in 1898. As a result, the lease had to expire in 1923. A similar period was provided for the administration of the South Niandchurian Railway. In both cases,

Japan obtained an extension of the lease to the internationally customary 99 years for such assignments. .'"> the year 1923 passed without change for the two
Acquisitions over. In China in those years a propaganda had been strongly pushed forward, which was directed against the "unequal treaties", i.e. against all treaties, which had been imposed on China under coercion. China applied this signum to virtually all treaties concluded with foreign powers, including the 21 demands of the Japanese. A curious situation soon arose in this connection. In the goals pursued by Japan in East Asia, the elimination of China's colonial character played a special role. Thus Japan adopted the Chinese principles and, like China, advocated the elimination of treaties with foreign powers, especially the abolition of exteritorial rights.
Concerns about its mainland policy were soon to come to Japan from another direction. At the Washington Conference in 1921/22, China had obtained promises that foreign prerogatives would be dismantled one by one. Now China was not then considered a consolidated state. Ambitious generals with their own armies fought each other and did not allow for peace in the country and peaceful construction. Behind these conditions, the great powers were entrenched and knew how to drag out the execution of their promises. Lord Balfour, as Britain's representative in Washington, made a grand gesture while the negotiations were still going on and declared his government's willingness to return the port of Wei-hai-Wei, which had been leased in 1898, to China. In fact, this promise was fulfilled, although Britain reserved the right to continue using this northern Chinese port as a summer stopover for its East Asia fleet. After all, the first breach had been made in the question of the leased territories of the foreign powers. Belgium was then the first state to return its concession in Tientsin to China. Germany and Austria had already forfeited their prerogatives through Versailles. Further, China demanded abolition of foreign customs control and exemption from customs duties as enjoyed by any sovereign state. On this point, the foreign powers gave in. China could now establish its own customs tariff, but retained the well-entrenched customs administration by foreign officials in ports released to foreigners. The abolition of extraterritoriality and foreign consular jurisdiction made the foreign powers dependent on modernization of the Chinese judiciary and prison system. The investigations undertaken in various cities resulted in this issue not progressing and remaining unresolved.
While a weak government was at the helm in Beijing, lurching from one cabinet crisis to another, a new China was developing in the south. There, in Canton, was Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who envisioned a unified national China after initiating the Chinese Revolution and overthrowing the Manchu Imperial House in 1911. He was clear that China alone could not carry out the great work. His appeals to England and America to support his plans were unsuccessful. Japan, which he personally visited for this purpose, also refused. On the other hand, another power was ready to join the offered hand: Soviet Russia. The tsar had already seized the border area of Outer Mongolia, Tanna Tuva, without consulting China. Soviet Russia tacitly took over this inheritance. Outer Mongolia had broken away from China in 1912, when the Chinese imperial family was overthrown, as it considered itself bound to China only by the latter. After the World War, Outer Mongolia was caught up in the turmoil of the Russian Revolution when Baron Ungern-Sternberg used it as his area of operations against Soviet Russia. That was in 1921, the year before a Chinese detachment of troops under General Hsü, called Little Hsü, had appeared for the last time in Urga, the capital of Mongolia, and had thus temporarily reclaimed Mongolia from the Chinese-Israeli Empire. Shortly after that, the Mongols killed the Chinese occupation in the most atrocious way. General Hsü was later assassinated in a waiting room of a station on the route while traveling from Tientsin to Beijing. Ungern-Sternberg's regiment did not last long. The Soviets defeated him at Kiachta. Betrayed by his own men, he was executed. Now the Soviets moved into Mongolia, eliminated the spiritual prince, the Hutukhtu, and concluded a mutual assistance treaty with Mongolia, which in effect made them the unrestricted masters of Outer Mongolia. Thus, on the Siberian border,

the Soviet Russian bastion of Outer Mongolia was established, from where Soviet Russia was able to promote its plans in China.

Sun Yat-sen accepted Soviet Russian support for his reconstruction plans. Advisors came from Moscow, especially Galen, later Marshal Blücher, to build up the army and Borodin to build up the civil administration. Sun Yat-sen provided personalities from his own family who effectively supported his work. For the army, he recruited Chiang Kai-shek, a colonel in the general staff, who had distinguished himself in suppressing a revolt. Under his energetic leadership, the army was built up. In Wampoa the young officers were trained at the war school. Sun Yat-sen did not live to see the dawn of the new era. In March 1925 he died in Peking in the German Hospital in the treatment of Professor Dr. Krieg, when he wanted to make the north of China inclined to his project. The awakening of national China was set in motion by an event arising from a revolt of the young national circles of China against the foreign powers. In Shanghai, after Sun's death, Chinese students had marched demonstratively to the guardhouse of the foreign police at the International Branch and, when they refused to disperse, were fired upon by British policemen. A storm of indignation went through the whole country. In the south, in Canton, Chiang Kai-shek gave the signal for departure. With his young army, he began the advance to the north.

The struggle against foreign tutelage could not be effectively begun until internal unity was established. For this reason, Sun Yat-sen had envisaged a construction of the new China in three stages: i. military education, 2. tutelage, and 3. self-government in a democratic sense. That China was not yet ready for this last period had been proven by earlier attempts involving a parliament, which had failed miserably. In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek arrived at the middle Yangtze with his national army, still with the advisory help of Soviet Russian emissaries. There in Hankau internal differences arose. Chiang evaded all further action by moving down the Yangtse and establishing the new government headquarters in Nanking. On October 10, the national government was established in Nanking, headed by Lin Sen as the representative figure of the state. Before that, however, Chiang had broken with the Red advisors. In Hankau, he had to realize that these foreigners were interested in something completely different than helping to establish a strong Chinese government in a united China. So he separated from them, expelled them from the country, but could not prevent a bloody persecution of all those who had come from Moscow from beginning in his area of command toward the end of 1927. The situation was particularly bad in Canton, where the Soviet Russian consul general survived only because he escaped into the building of the German consulate general. Thus, for the time being, Soviet Russia had played out in China. However, its plans pursued in China had not been abandoned; on the contrary, it subsequently succeeded in forming a Communist Chinese army under Chinese leaders who had received special training in Moscow.

Japan had followed this development with particular attention, but initially did not intervene. His protégé, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, believed that he was destined for greater things and extended his sphere of influence to Shanghai. The Japanese were not interested in this. They therefore agreed that Chang Tso-lin should retreat to Beijing before Chiang Kai-shek. When Chiang Kai-shek advanced northward against him, he hurriedly left Peking and returned to Mukden in his special train. Just before entering the station, a bomb was thrown at his saloon car from the overpass over the tracks, killing the governor of Heilungkiang Province on the spot, while Chang Tso-lin is said to have lived for a few days. He was succeeded by his son, the young Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, who was more interested in golf and opium indulgence than in orderly government in Manchuria, of which he made himself governor-general. His first act was to invite his father's chief of staff and another general to tea at his house in the middle of the city of Mukden and have them both shot.

The advance of the Chinese national army on Peking was no longer accepted idly by Japan. It landed with its 6th Division in Tsingtao, where it had lost all rights and was only economically interested through several spinning mills, and marched along the railroad to Tsinanfu on the Hoangho in order to block Chiang Kai-shek's path to the north. The latter could not be stopped by this. Tsinanfu suffered a useless bombardment by Japanese artillery, while Chiang Kai-shek continued his march on Beijing to the west and entered the old imperial city. A Political Council for the North was later established in Beijing as a branch of the Nanking government. In crude outline, a unified China from north to south was thus established. After some hesitation, Chang Hsueh- liang also agreed to hoist the new Kuomintang flag. In contrast, ties with the outside countries of Tibet, Chinese Turkestan and Outer Mongolia loosened more and more. The latter was as good as written off.

Chiang Kai-shek had adopted the slogan of abolishing unequal treaties. In 1929 he wanted to make an example and believed to meet the weakest resistance with Soviet Russia. On his behalf, the East China Railroad was seized. The Soviet Russian railroad officials were driven out, and the Soviet consuls also left the area. Only in Dairen, in the Japanese area, did a Soviet Russian consulate remain. However, the Soviets had been underestimated. In the Soviet Far East, an army was being built up that was becoming more and more self-sufficient. From it, in November 1929, stronger forces were sent forward from the west into north Manchuria, meeting a dug-in Chinese division at Hailar on the East China Railway. In the front, the Chinese proved more resilient than earlier. A flank thrust, however, threw them out of position. China gave up further resistance and reached an agreement with Moscow in the Khabarovsk Protocol of December 1929. The former condition of equal administration of the railroad was restored. Further negotiations envisaged in the said protocol never took place.

In Tokyo, the military had followed this development with concern. They had not been able to prevent the creation of a unified, if not yet firmly established, China. The advance into Shantung had been an air coup. The division deployed there had been taken back to Japan, where influences from across the Pacific Ocean were said to have asserted themselves. The concept of "positive policy" toward China had been created, but it had not yet been fulfilled. In the meantime, anti-Japanese incidents in China were accumulating. Closely recorded by the Japanese, they numbered in the hundreds. The boycott of Japanese goods was strictly enforced. Chinese who sold Japanese goods gambled for their lives. Japanese goods were publicly burned and destroyed. Further developments slipped into the hands of a Japanese triumvirate: the Minister of War, Minami, the Chief of Education in the War Ministry, General Muto, and Lieutenant Colonel Doihara, who was particularly knowledgeable in Chinese affairs, and who very soon acquired the nickname "Lawrence of Manchuria" in reference to the activities of the British "Colonel" Lawrence in Arabia during the World War. Serious incidents occurred. 86 Korean peasants were attacked and massacred in Manchuria near Wanpaoshan, 20 km north of Changchun. Japanese Chief of Staff Na- kamura was assassinated during a trip to Mongolia near Taonan. Finally, the incident at Mukden on September 18, 1931, which has never been properly resolved and led to the intervention of the Japanese division in the Liautung area. Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, was shelled and occupied by the Japanese. Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang learned of the event at a dinner hosted by the Belgian envoy in Peking, but showed no inclination to go to the scene of the events, instead witnessing further developments from afar.

The ball was rolling. The one Japanese division plus the railroad guards was not enough to break the Chinese resistance. Eventually, four to five Japanese divisions were deployed in Manchuria, plus two cavalry brigades and aircraft. The two Korean divisions, 19th and 20th, participated freely in the further occupation of Manchuria by sending mixed detachments. First the Japanese occupied Kirin, the capital of the second Manchurian province. Then they advanced to the southwest, where the Manchurian government had sat down after once in Chingchow, but after a fierce air bombardment cleared the field

there too and dismounted to Peking. The further operations of the Japanese were directed to the north of Manchuria. That the occupation did not become a military cakewalk was ensured by Chinese General Ma, who fiercely resisted the Japanese at the Nonni River until he too had to give way to the better equipped and led Japanese. With the occupation of Harbin on the Sungari, the Japanese advanced into the Soviet Russian area. Would there be a new Russo-Japanese war if the Japanese crossed the East China Railway? Moscow did not budge. Thus, the complete occupation of Manchuria progressed until the entire area was under Japanese rule. Parts of the former Manchurian army remained behind and joined forces with the bandits who had always existed there and continued to make the country unsafe for several years. These bandits, as the Japanese say, finally gave in. The country came more and more into quiet conditions.

That the Japanese would give up what they had won was not to be assumed. China threw its weight behind the League of Nations, which tried to settle the conflict in numerous meetings of the Council, one of which was held in Paris. Finally, the idea of a commission was once again adopted and a five-member commission was sent out under the English Lord Lytton, with Germany represented by Governor (ret.) Dr. Schnee. D. Dr. Schnee. An extensive report was the result of this trip to the Far East. It was recommended that China and Japan should best come to an agreement themselves.

The situation became more entangled when the Japanese advanced near Shanghai in January 1932, where very heavy fighting occurred in the northern suburb of Chapei. Only the Japanese flank thrust from Liuho on the Yangtze into the left flank of the Chinese position caused the Chinese front to give way. Tokyo disagreed with this extension of the fighting and accepted the British mediation proposal to meet at the round table with the Chinese on the provided flagship of the British East Asia Fleet, the cruiser "Kent", with the assistance of British Admiral Kelly. In May, an armistice came to-
Stande and then an agreement whereby the area in the immediate vicinity of Shanghai was to be cleared and kept free of troops from both sides.

Even before that, on i. March 1932, the Japanese had established a new government in Manchuria and thus created the new state of Manchukuo. What was still missing was a head for this new state, as the Chinese called it. This was found in the last Chinese emperor, who had been six years old at the outbreak of the Chinese Revolution and for whom his uncle had abdicated iin February 1912. Hsüan Tung, or Pu Yi, initially lived in the palace of his fathers in the Forbidden City in Beijing, but without receiving the allowance from the republican state that had been given to him. Thus, many an artifact from the palace had to be monetized over time. The emperor grew up under the supervision of his English teacher, married two wives, but was abandoned by one of them. His quiet life came to an end when, in October 1924, the "Christian" General Feng Yu-hsiang entered Beijing and chased him out of the palace. Disguised as a student, he took the train for the first time to Tientsin, where he found a safe house in the Japanese concession. The Japanese saw in him a suitable personality as the head of the new Manchurian state. It was, after all, the country from which his dynasty had come. He was first brought to Dairen by a Japanese destroyer and kept hidden there for some time until he was led to Muk- den, where he was installed as the administrator of the new state on March 9, 1932, but had to take up his residence in the new capital Hsinking (= New Capital), which rose to this dignity from the little significant city of Changchun. Greater honors awaited Pu Yi. On i. March 1934 he was proclaimed emperor of the state, which from then on was calledMan- schutikuo. He himself took the name Kangte.

After the conclusion of the fighting at Shanghai, the Japanese were able to turn all their energy to further expanding their position of power in Manchuria. Japanese advisors were placed next to all government organs, which were later slowly dismantled. On September 15, 1932, a Japanese-Manchurian mutual assistance pact was concluded, which at the same time meant the recognition of Manchukuo by Japan. In this pact, the second article is significant, in which Japan agrees to use its means

of power against any external threat to Manchukuo. This was at the same time intended to make it clear to the Nanking government that its hopes of regaining Manchuria were futile. Even if Nanking rejected any relationship with Manchukuo, it had to give in on one aspect. Manchuria lies on the connecting route from Europe to China. Passenger, mail, and telegraph traffic with China would be completely shut down if Nanking did not clear access at the Great Wall at Shanheikwan. Nadi some time, Nanking gave in, decided on a postal and telegraph agreement, and allowed through rail traffic to northern China. On March 12, 1932, the Manchurian foreign minister had already sent a note to all foreign countries inviting them to recognize Manchukuo. England, France and America refused because, in the American view, they condemned any territorial change by force. The Central American Republic of San Salvador opened the round of recognizers, with the exception of Japan. It was followed by the Holy See, which appointed a special legate for the Mandsdiurei. From
Great Powers, Italy was the first to sign up; Germany, Spain and Hungary followed.
Japan participated in the meetings of the League of Nations, but continued on its way undeterred. At the beginning of 1933, the decision was approaching. The plenary session of the League of Nations was prepared to pronounce its judgment on Japan's East Asia policy. The mood against this was soured from the outset because Japan was at that time working to annex the Mongolian province of Jehol to Manchukuo. In the most severe winter, it became a lightning campaign of ten days. Then this province was subdued. Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, who at the beginning of the Manchurian affair had ordered his troops not to resist, once again mustered his strength, even appearing in the capital of Jehol and heroically declaring that they would fight to the last man. He then disappeared again and went back to Peking. His generals, who now had no great inclination to resist either, failed in defense. At the Great Wall, the Japanese advance came to a halt.
On February 24, 1933, was the decisive meeting in Geneva. The Japanese had sent a special leader of their delegation, Yosuke Matsuoka, later president of the South Manchurian Railway and foreign minister in the second cabinet of Prince Fumimaro Konoye. He was the one who said that the West did not understand the Far East. Even before the Geneva verdict was passed, there was no doubt that Japan would leave the League of Nations if it was condemned. And so it came to pass. Of 21 states represented, Japan voted against the resolution condemning Japan's Manchurian policy, Siam abstained, and all others agreed. When the verdict was announced, Matsuoka and his companions rose and left the chamber. The decision now rested in Tokyo, where the government urged the emperor to withdraw from the League of Nations, which was signed on March 27. According to its provisions, Japan had to remain a member of the League for another two years, and thus left it in March 193$. At first, however, it remained loosely connected with Geneva, continuing to participate in the work of the International Labor Office and some commissions such as the Opium and Mandate Commissions. Meanwhile, it withdrew its Under-Secretary General.
China had also demanded the invocation of the Nine-Power Treaty on China of the Washington Conference and the Kellogg Pact, but it did not prevail with any power. The American President Hoover was not inclined to do so, and his Secretary of State, Colonel Stimson, was very angry about it. The latter had even decided to make a trip to Europe in order to persuade England to do something with America against Japan. He was given the cold shoulder in London. When Roosevelt took office and his work in the American government came to an end, he got his anger off his chest in his book "The Fareastern Crisis". China had been disappointed. Anger against the Japanese rose even more in the country. Chinese merchants selling Japanese goods were driven through the streets of Shanghai and Nanking in wooden cages.
Japan, which had extended the possession of Jehol Province westward to Chahar and Dolonor, now turned its interest to northern China and considered a consolidation of the five northern provinces of

Hopei, formerly Chihli, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shansi and Shan- tung, mainly for economic motives, but also for military-political ones, in order to secure Manchukuo to the south. Claiming that the Chinese troops driven out of Manchuria and Jehol were entrenched in northern China, Japan advanced over the Great Wall along the Mukden-Peking Railway to the Luan River. This military action ended on May 31, 1933, at Tongu at the mouth of the Peiho River by the armistice concluded there. The text of the agreement was not made public by China until May 1936. In the agreement, China undertook to demilitarize the area north of the Beijing-Shanheikwan railroad line. The Japanese were to be allowed to exercise control over it. If the Chinese fulfilled the agreement, the Japanese in turn were to vacate the area. Only a Chinese police force that contained no anti-Japanese elements was to remain in the area. From this last arrangement it is evident how far Chinese hatred of Japan had already developed that reference was made to it in a treaty text. The Japanese actually vacated the area in November 1933. The characteristic of the demilitarized area subsequently became that of the worst smuggling zone that probably ever existed in China.

The year 1934 passed without any major events. The Nanking government was burdened with internal difficulties because the South showed certain insubordination. Since June 1933, Japan had entered into negotiations with Soviet Russia for the purchase of the Russian share in the East China Railway. On March 23, 1935, the sale agreement was reached. Manchukuo was to pay 140 million in Japanese currency, part of which was to be paid in goods deliveries. In addition, 30 million was to be paid to Soviet Russia for pensions of Soviet officials. In January 1935, various incidents occurred in northern China in the province of Cha-.

2 Mossdorf, East Asia har, which prompted Japan to intervene. An agreement with the 29th Army commander, Sun Chih-yuan-the same general who had commanded the Peking area in the July 1937 Marco Polo Bridge skirmish-at Tatan on February 2 gave Japan a territorial increase of 30 square miles. Another incident caused Japan to demand that General Sung be removed from his post. Nanking then made him commander of the Peking district, which included Tientsin. New incidents prompted the Japanese to move troops into the demilitarized zone in May. Finally, Japan threatened to invade Beijing to enforce demands made to Ho Ying- chin, the war minister there, who was acting as chairman of the military council. This resulted in the Ho-Umetsu Agreement, signed by the Japanese commander-in-chief in North China General Umetsu with Ho Ying-chin. The result was new Chinese concessions that all but eliminated Nanking's influence in North China. For their further plans, the Japanese employed the aforementioned Lieutenant Colonel Doihara, who contacted the governors of the five northern provinces in order to form a block from the provinces for economic cooperation with Manchukuo. However, success was not forthcoming.

Japan fell for another plan. In the demilitarized area there was a middle-ranking official Yin Yu-keng, who had already shown himself compliant to the Japanese on several occasions. He was made the head of the administration of the area, which was given the name "Autonomous Anti-Communist Administrative District". The seat of government became the city of Tunchow, east of Beijing. The five-color Republican flag was flown because the Kuomintang flag of the Nanking government was rejected by Japan. Nanking immediately issued a platonic I l.dt order against the head of the government. In addition, the Nanking government sought to stall Japanese plans by creating a Political Council for the northern provinces of Chahar and Hopei. It was chaired by General Sung Chih-yuan, who also retained supreme command of the 29th Army.

In the next period, the Japanese military kept a low profile and left the field to the politicians to negotiate with China. In the Diet speech of January 28, 1936, Foreign Minister Hirota made three demands: 1. China should abandon its previous policy of trying to use England and America against Japan, 2. China recognize Manchukuo, and 3. China join Japan in the fight against communism. That

the younger circles of the Japanese military did not agree with this approach, but demanded more radical action, resulted in the officers' coup of February 26, 1936 in Tokyo, in which high and deserving personalities lost their lives. New incidents at Chengtu, Pakhoi, Shanghai, and Tsingtao did nothing to advance negotiations on a modus vivendi between China and Japan. In December 1936, the temporary capture of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek at Sianfu by the young Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang-it was the only "heroic act" the latter performed-interrupted the negotiations, which were stalled by China's rejection of Japanese proposals in December 1936. China's first demand was the elimination of the autonomous administrative district in northern China.

In Japan, dissatisfaction with the slow pace of negotiations with China had grown considerably in the Ai inee. At the end of 1936, the Hirota cabinet collapsed over this. His successor, the Hayashi cabinet, tried sending an economic commission to China, which arrived there in March. China welcomed this step, which failed because China demanded that political disputes be settled before economic agreements could be reached. At the end of March 1937, the Japanese Diet was dissolved. New elections in June brought about a new cabinet change. Prince Fumimaro Konoye, president of the House of Lords, assumed the premiership and brought former Prime Minister Hirota into his cabinet as foreign minister. Prince Konoye was given the difficult task of leading Japan into war against China a month later. It turned out that there was no great prospect of establishing compatible relations between China and Japan. If anything, Japanese attitudes toward all issues affecting both countries had stiffened. Foreign Minister Hirota described his earlier proposals as outdated and out of date. Japan was not inclined to give up any of its gains on the continent. Thus, only one solution remained: the use of armed force to bring about the decision by this means. In those days, the missionary faith of the Japanese was particularly emphasized by eminent persons, such as Major General Tada, the commander-in-chief of the Japanese garrison in North China, and was widely spread among the Japanese people. The great incident that precipitated the war was the shooting at Lukouchiao and Marco Polo Bridge. Neither Japan nor China assumed at the time that the incident would take an extension for years to come.

III THE AMUR INCIDENT

A few days before the Sino-Japanese incident of July 7, 1937, an incident occurred on the Amur River, on the northern border of Manchuria, which must be inserted here, even if it was a Japanese-Soviet-Russian incident, which at first could not give the impression that it belonged in the overall picture of the war in the Far East. However, since such incidents also occurred in the second and third years of the Sino-Japanese War, albeit in different places, there is no doubt that there was a connection. These incidents occurred at a time of strained Japanese-Soviet-Russian relations and caused Japan to look northward with some apprehension. It therefore felt compelled, apart from the two Korean divisions, to keep stronger forces of its best troops in the Manchurian border area to counter any possibility. In 1940, no major incidents occurred in that weather corner, because under the impression of the European events and influenced by them, the relations between Moscow and Tokyo underwent a significant improvement. The two Japanese ambassadors in Moscow, first Shige- initsu, the former embassy councillor in Berlin, then deputy .foreign minister and after his Moscow period ambassador- ■.i li.ifter in London, and after him the former ambassador in Berlin, Togo, contributed considerably to this. Togo, in particular, succeeded in bringing to a provisional solution the conflicts over Japanese fishing grounds off the Soviet Russian Far East coast and over Japanese oil concessions on northern Sakhalin, which arose annually as a concomitant of di 1 1 ussisdt-Japan relations. It was also noteworthy that when Togo relinquished his Moscow post in early October 1940, he received special commendations from the highest echelons of the Soviet government.

In and of themselves, border incidents on the Manchurian border were nothing new and usually nothing particularly exciting, even if they did result in deaths and injuries. In June 1937, however, these

incidents became more frequent, especially in the area of the middle Amur River, which forms the border between the Soviet Far East and Manchukuo in the north. Actually, there could be no misunderstanding about the border on the Amur. It had to run in the middle of the river course. On June 19 and 20, the Soviets surprisingly occupied two of the islands scattered in the course of the river on the Manchurian side. On June 22, 23, and 25, new incidents occurred in the same area. Finally, on June 30, three Soviet Russian gunboats appeared at a remote spot on the Manchurian side of the Amur and opened fire on bathing Japanese soldiers. The previous assaults had contributed to the fact that the Japanese had prepared for anything. From the shore, fire was immediately returned and one of the boats was sunk. A second ran aground badly damaged. The Soviets had probably not expected this prompt retaliation. The scene of the incident was the narrow channel west of Kanchatze Island, obviously in Manchurian territory, where the evidence, the Russian gunboat, had also run aground.

Obviously, this was a well-prepared plan of the Soviet Russians, if perhaps only a reconnaissance of the terrain for later cases. The two islands of Chinamuho and Kanchatze form two excellent intermediate points for a crossing over the wide Amur. The place of the incident lies almost exactly in the middle between the places Wuyun and Heiho on the Manchurian side. Opposite these, on the northern bank of the Amur, two spur railroads branch off from the Amur Railway terminate. I f the Soviets had once gained a foothold on the south bank by this route, it would be easy for them to advance further south and reach the north Manchurian Railway on the Tsitsihar-Harbin line. A simultaneous thrust eastward from Mongolia would threaten the Japanese standing in the Amur Arc in the rear, who would then have to swiftly move out to the south, leaving all of north Manchuria to the Soviets. Perhaps the Soviets only wanted to determine how far the Japanese were prepared. The prompt reply could leave no doubt.

The Japanese have always kept their cool in the face of such pinpricks. In this case, they had to retaliate forcefully for once, after a protest lodged with the Soviet Consul General in Harbin had initially been ineffective. This is how they fired. A senior Japanese officer at the scene of the events justified this repulse by saying: "Japan does not want war. In the interest of preserving peace, it has hitherto shown calm and patience in the face of all Soviet provocations, but it will know how to repel a direct attack justified by nothing."

On July 5, the Soviets cleared the island territory they occupied. The haunting was quickly gone. The lesson given by the Japanese had done its work. As will be shown, the warning lasted only for a year.

IV. NORTH CHINA

On the night of Wednesday to Thursday, July 7-8, 1937, as mentioned, the Japanese divisions holding night exercises at Lu- kouchiao had clashed with the 209th Infantry Regiment of the 37th Division of General Sung Chih-yuan's Chinese 29th Army. A two-hour truce was arranged on July 8 to limit hostilities, after which gunfire suddenly began, which had not previously cooperated. Japanese commander-in-chief at Tientsin, with very independent powers, was Lieutenant General Tashiro. Both sides tried to restore calm by July 10, but succeeded only very imperfectly. At full strength, the Japanese were able to use 6000 to 7000 men. The Japanese had 16 killed and over 40 wounded in the initial clashes, while the Chinese had about 50 killed. On July 9, the 3rd Japanese Squadron received orders to stay near the Chinese coast. The Chinese imposed a state of siege on the native quarters of Beijing and Tientsin. Trenches were dug outside Tientsin to guard against a possible Chinese attack. The Beijing-Tientsin rail link was interrupted. In Tokyo, all officers of the General Staff and War Ministry were kept on standby. The situation underwent a major stiffening when the Japanese government decided to send reinforcements to northern China. The Japanese emperor returned to Tokyo from his summer visit to Hayama. The Chief of Education, Lieutenant General Katsuki, was entrusted with the supreme command in North China in place of General Tashiro, who had fallen ill and died soon after, and immediately left for there by plane. Japanese reinforcements were taken from the Kwan- tung Army in

Manchuria. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek also left his summer stay in Kuling and went to Nanking. China deployed reinforcements to the north and mobilized air power. The Chinese Foreign Office denied any responsibility for the incident, stating that the Chinese troops had acted only in self-defense. General Sung was ordered not to give up an inch of ground. The Japanese army took the bit in its teeth, was the verdict in London. Attempts to initiate mediation there, however, were strictly rejected by the Japanese Foreign Office. The Japanese reservists were ordered to stand by for conscription.

On July 17, America intervened in the conflict with a statement by Secretary of State Cordell Hüll. In it he named neither China nor Japan, but stressed that there could be no serious hostilities in the world that did not in one way or another affect the rights, interests, and obligations of the United States. He invoked, in a sense, the doctrine of his predecessor, Colonel Stimson, that amendments to existing treaties should be made only by peaceful means. The Japanese Foreign Office issued the reply to the American statement. The conflict between China and Japan would have to be settled, but interference by foreign powers would have to be avoided. China sought to apply the nine-power treaty of the Washington Conference and addressed a protest to all signatory powers about Japan's conduct. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek commented on the events before Chinese teachers and educators, formulating China's position by saying, "We want peace, but not peace at any price." New incidents in which a Japanese officer was seriously wounded in clashes in Tientsin prompted the Japanese Northern Command to issue a kind of ultimatum to the Chinese military authorities to reserve full freedom of action if new incidents occurred. On July 20, that eventuality occurred. The Japanese declared to have been shelled at Papaoshan and Lukou- chiao, whereupon Japanese artillery of the Kawabe Brigade returned fire. A parley between Japanese Embassy Counselor Hidaka and Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Chung-hui in Nanking brought no solution. In Japan, reservists flocked to the flags. Eight hundred retired generals and senior officers rejoined the army. In a new engagement at Wanping, not far from Beijing, artillery detachments were deployed by both sides. The Japanese harbored fears for Shanghai and announced a state of emergency for their citizens residing there. On news that Chinese troops had arrived at Wusung and were building fortifications there, Japanese troops in Hongkew County were put on alert. The evacuation of Japanese women and children was initiated.

England had done the Chinese government a very great service in 1935 by sending its financial expert Sir Frederic Leith-Roß to Nanking, who converted the Chinese silver currency to paper currency, whereupon Chinese silver emigrated to England in large sums, mostly via Hong Kong. At the same time, England had begun negotiations with Japan to normalize somewhat strained relations. Negotiations had begun favorably and had primarily concerned England's interests in northern China. Now, however, under the impression of the events at Peking, the British government, through its Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, declared that the planned negotiations for a reorganization of relations with Japan were cancelled as long as the present situation in North China continued. On the other hand, America had at that time still refused to join forces with England in these matters. It wanted, Secretary Hüll declared, to continue its independent and autonomous policy.

Now Nanking also appointed a commander for northern China in the person of "Christian" General Feng Yu-hsiang. Marshal Chiang reserved the supreme command in case of major entanglements. In a note to Japan, the latter was implored to "avert the impending disaster." After the Japanese preparations, the general impression was that Japan's military machine was already underway. Lieutenant General Katsuki made an ultimate demand on July 26 for General Sung Chih- yuan to evacuate the Peking zone. On the instructions of the Chinese central government, the ultimatum was refused. At the same time, General Sung was instructed to take all necessary measures to repel a Japanese attack, since a peaceful solution could no longer be expected. As a result, the Japanese prepared to attack Beijing. From the west, the Kawabe Brigade was deployed. Artillery and machine guns were brought into position less

than two kilometers from the city wall at Kuan- ganmen Gate. Fire was opened at 7:30 a.m. on July 26 there. On the east
side of the city, 3000 men were assembled and proceeded against the gate Chaoyangmen. The war was now almost unstoppable.
On July 26, the Japanese Diet had been opened for extraordinary session by the Tenno. This session had proved necessary in view of the cabinet change and the situation in China. On July 27, Foreign Minister Hirota addressed the Diet and declared that securing Japan's position as a firmly established power in the Far East was one of the noblest aims of Japanese policy. In the cooperation sought with China, he said, the Communist incursion in the Orient must be halted. On the 26th there had still been a serious clash at Langfang, on the Beijing-Tientsin railroad halfway. There the Japanese had used bombers against Chinese barracks and, after very heavy losses among Chinese soldiers and among the population, had forced the Chinese garrison to retreat to Hwangtsun, 16 kilometers from Peking. On the Chinese side, the 37th, 38th, and 132nd Divisions of the 29th Army were noted. Japanese reconnaissance planes were cruising over Peking. The curtain had risen on a new war in North China, it was declared in Nanking, abandoning all hope of a peaceful settlement of the conflict.
On July 28, Japanese bombardment squadrons, led by Sakaguchi Squadron, launched several waves against the fragmented forces of the Chinese 29th Army. In the south, west, and north of Beijing, not only were the positions of the Chinese divisions shattered, but also their possible reception positions. The situation for the 29th Army became untenable. General Sung left Peking by night and fog on July 29, leaving the city in the hands of Japan-friendly men. He himself went to Paotingfu with Lord Mayor Chin Teh-chun. At Tientsin, the situation was difficult for the Japanese at the same time. The Chinese attacked the Japanese concession troops who were entrenched in the concession. Tientsin was crucial to further Japanese operations because Japanese reinforcements had to pass through the city. When the Chinese occupied the main railway station, it was bombarded. Heated street fighting ensued. In Peking, General Chang Tsu- chung, commander of the 28th Division, had taken command, known for his inclination to reach a settlement with Japan. The remnants of the worn-out 37th Division united with his troops. General Feng Chi-an, who had commanded the 37th Division, joined General Sung in his escape.
The extent to which hatred for the Japanese had increased was to be shown by a serious incident in Tungchow, east of Beijing, where the headquarters of the Autonomous Anti-Communist District, as mentioned, was located. Chinese military were not allowed to enter there. A so-called Peace Preservation Corps had to maintain order. According to Japanese accounts, officers of the 37th Division entered Tungchow and stirred up the population against the Japanese. As a result, part of Kawabe Division moved into Tungchow and occupied the town on July 31. Upon entering, it became apparent that the Japanese civilian population had been almost completely annihilated. About 200 casualties were counted. Only 77 Japanese and 58 pro-Japanese Chinese had managed to save themselves.
By the first days of August, the Japanese had cleared the area between Tientsin and Beijing so that the first passenger train from Tientsin to Beijing was able to run again on August 5. The gates of Beijing were still closed. In the meantime, the Japanese had extended their operations northwest of Peking along the railroad to Kalgan and the Nankau Pass. Attempts to settle the conflict were still under way during these days. China demanded the restoration of its full sovereignty in the northern provinces.
In the meantime, Japanese divisions had advanced south of Beijing both along the Peking-Han- kau Railway and along the Tientsin-Pukau Railway. Opening skirmishes were fought on both railroads, which did not end unfavorably for the Chinese. The Japanese government arranged for the withdrawal of Japanese civilians from the upper Yangtze area and landed naval troops at Hankau, which occupied the Japanese concession and put it in a state of defense. A Japanese casualty list gave 364 killed and 869

wounded by August 3. The Japanese high command assumed that the Chinese would oppose the Japanese advance along the west-east railroad from Loyang to Kaifeng and east of it, and would use only second-order troops forward of this position. At first, however, calm prevailed as negotiations were renewed between Chinese and Japanese agencies. This type of warfare is oriental. Therefore, one can hardly draw comparisons with European conditions. The period of calm was used by both parts to bring in reinforcements. The appearance of five Chinese divisions near the Nankau Pass northwest of Peking caused concern among the Japanese high command, since it had to be seen as a threat to the Japanese western flank. The Japanese strength at the time was given as 47,000 men. The Japanese landed at Hankau

Naval formations withdrew again on August 9, leaving the Chinese authorities to secure their concession. However, this also put an end to Japanese trading activity in the Yangtze Basin for a distance of 250 kilometers.

The Japanese entry into Beijing occurred around noon on August 8, when 4,000 men moved into the Temple of Heaven area in the Forbidden City and took up quarters in the barracks there. Cavalry rode in front, then came infantry detachments, as well as 15 armored cars, field artillery and eight heavy guns, and eight teams with supplies. The people of Beijing looked at the train with melancholy looks. The police had been disarmed, but were still on duty. A world-historic event was unrolling.

V. SHANGHAI

In early August 1937, events suddenly swung to central China, to Shanghai, the great world port city on the Wangpoo, the right tributary of the Yangtze just before it flows into the sea. This expansion did not come as a surprise. The evacuation of all Japanese along the course of the Yangtze far into the interior by August 8, the abandonment of the concession at Hankau, and finally the withdrawal of Japanese embassy personnel from Nanking to Japan via Tsingtau were signs pointing to a storm. The Chinese interpreted the measures to mean that Japan was preparing an advance and was removing its vulnerable compatriots beforehand. This view was officially disputed in Tokyo, which stressed that it was intended to prevent possible incidents after anti-Japanese propaganda had become increasingly strident.

The events in Shanghai since August 1937 were a direct continuation of the events in the spring of 1932. As shown, after the heavy fighting in Chapei on May 5, an armistice had been reached in which England had played the role of mediator. In addition, America, France and Italy had witnessed the agreement. The agreement stipulated, above all, that Chinese forces would not advance eastward across the line they had taken at the conclusion of the armistice. A demilitarized zone was thus created, which Japan was also required to maintain. To maintain peace and (hd order in the area, a so-called Friedcns- I rhaltungungskorps had been formed by the Chinese, which the Japanese said was composed mainly of former Chinese soldiers. 1)I t members would also have the same armament as the army. Their chief was a certain Yang Fu, said to have belonged to the so-called "Blue Shirts," one of the secret societies formed with the knowledge of the Chinese government. In fact, in July, active troops of the Chinese army advanced on the demilitarized zone, for reasons of self-defense, it was said. The following were noted in the wider vicinity of Shanghai: the 87th, 88th and 36th Divisions, further the 27th and 33rd Divisions and parts of the 49th Division, in all about 47,000 men, growing to 100,000 men in early August. The Chinese made the same charges against the Japanese. They said that 4000 marines were concentrated in the Japanese con- cession district. The fact is that after 1932 the Japanese had built a large concrete barracks there with several floors to house their marines. Furthermore, the Chinese added 4000 marines who were on the Japanese warships on the Wangpoo, 3000 reinforcements had been en route from Tokyo, io warships had formed the base of the attack. I n contrast, the Japanese claimed that the peace I 1keeping corps had been 6000 strong, and that, in addition, a police force of 10000 men

under I i I Isiang-hsi had been available along with a vigilante force g< found. On August 12, the 87th and 88th Divi- u>n had arrived off Shanghai. On the same day ' i Ji 1 later hotly contested northern railway station had been put in ver- 1 < idigimgs condition. On August 13, 9 a.m. 14 minutes, the Japanese had attacked, the Chinese report read.

The decisive incident that led to the outbreak of hostilities occurred on August 9 and is presented by the Japanese as follows: The scene of the incident was Monument Road. Lieutenant Isao Ohyama, in a car driven by Corporal Yozo Saito, was driving from the landing site, where he was in command, to his headquarters after inspecting the neighborhood of Japanese spinning mills located there. His car was forced to stop and fired upon by people of the Peace L.rhaltung Corps. The lieutenant was killed instantly, as was Saito after he jumped out of the car. Both were wearing uniforms. Afterwards, the bodies were mutilated. The Chinese portrayed the incident as the two who were shot trying to force their way into the Hungjao military airfield. The officer had fired first. An investigation the next day could not confirm this. Again, as in the Lukouchiao case, negotiations were attempted to settle the incident peacefully. On August 12, the Japanese landed naval soldiers from their warships to protect their countrymen. In response, the Chinese reinforced their positions at the villages of Siangwan and Woosung north of Shanghai. Chapei, which had not yet been cleared, was also included in the defense. Telephone communications were cut off to the Japanese. Sgt. Ohmaye disappeared, having been "kidnapped," the technical term in the Far East for human abduction. Japanese marines then occupied the borders of their Hongkew district. At 9 a.m. on the 13th, Chinese soldiers reportedly fired the first shots. At first it remained skirmishes, though the Chinese claimed that the Japanese had attacked with three armored cars against the Paoshan Road, but had been repulsed by the Chinese. The first Japanese cannon shot had fallen at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

The Japanese refer to August 14 as "Bloody Saturday," which it became due to Chinese bombing. These were actually intended for the Japanese cruiser "Izumo", which lay as in 1932 as a guard ship on the Bund of Shanghai. In fact, the bombs fell in the middle of the densely populated tourist quarter. Twice the Chinese bombers appeared. On the first attempt, two bombs fell in Nanking Street, one of which penetrated the roof of the Palace Hotel. There were 150 dead. Shortly after, a single plane came and dropped two bombs again. These fell to the ground in front of the Great World entertainment center, which had been converted into a refugee shelter the day before. Over 1200 dead were counted, including three Americans, several British, French and Russians. On August 24, the bombing was repeated, with 170 dead and about 500 wounded.

Japan was determined to take up the fight to protect its countrymen, who had grown to 30,000 with the addition of refugees. Reinforcements were sent to Shanghai and landed there on August 23. On August 20, Prime Minister Prince Konoye had commented for the first time on the new situation, stressing that continuing Chinese challenges now compelled Japan to take steps that would bring <Lina to its senses. War Minister Sugi- \ 11 na stated shortly thereafter that Japan felt compelled to abandon the negative attitude it had hitherto followed.

One would think that Japan's decision to bring about the I in divorce with arms did not come easily. It could by no means be a military walk in the park. Japan encountered, in part, well-disciplined divisions trained on foreign models and equipped with modern weapons in their best formations. Above all, Japan was in a precarious inferiority for the first time, until sufficient reinforcements were brought in, which could only be compensated for by the use of the most modern weapons and skilful leadership. The Japanese navy had no equal opponent to confront. The Chinese idotte hardly counted. The Chinese, on the other hand, had developed an air force that deserved attention, even if bombing was not yet successful, as the drops in Shanghai had shown.

On ii. August, the first reinforcements of the Japanese fleet, three cruisers, five destroyers, and a flotilla fiihrboat of i Squadron entered the Wang- poo and landed the first reinforcements of naval soldiers. For its part, the Chinese Central Government sent reinforcements to Shanghai and mobilized the air squadrons stationed at Hangchow. Among the Japanese warships on the Wang- poo was noticed an aircraft carrier. The Chinese government ordered 16 steamers to Japanese ports to bring back Chinese living in Japan. Chinese airlines withdrew their planes from Shanghai. Locomotives and railroad cars returned to Nanking, so that the Shanghai-Nanking railroad service from the northern station was shut down. The French secured their concession by wire entanglements. With the occupation of the North Railway Station by units of the 87th and 88th Chinese Divisions, regular troops were in the demilitarized zone uncloaked for the first time since 1932. The Chinese magistrate moved to the French concession, where he felt safer than in the city center.

By August 13, a fierce artillery duel was already underway. The Japanese had 10.3 cm guns at the ready. The Chinese replied with 7.5 cm. Very soon fires were raging everywhere. The Japanese still had their experience of 1932 in mind, and right at the start they went with transport ships to Liuho on the Yangtze River, about 40 kilometers north of Shanghai, to push into the Chinese left flank. On their own left flank, the Japanese were at a considerable disadvantage from the outset and later because the International Establishment prevented them from advancing comprehensively from there. This impediment, which substantially increased Japanese casualties, contributed considerably to the Japanese dislike of foreign establishments in East Asia. The Chinese announced the closure of river traffic on the Yangtze, so that Nanking could be reached only by land, especially since long-distance communications were also out. The mutual fronts initially extended northward from Chapei to Hongkew Park. There the Japanese cruisers "Seta" and "Kuri" directed the fire of their heavy naval guns. The Japanese advanced against the Chinese positions with machine guns, mortars and armored cars, but in the course of the fighting they were able to do little with their armored cars in the terrain densely occupied by rice paddies. The overall command on the Chinese side for the entire armed forces in the area of Shanghai and Nanking was assigned to General Chang Chi-chung, who was already familiar with the conditions around Shanghai from the battles of 1932.

I >ic Chinese were not unaware of their numerical superiority over the weak Japanese landing forces in those first days of fighting. They seized the favorable opportunity and went on the attack. The undeclared war thus got into full swing. As an introduction, the Chinese used a bombing campaign against the Japanese warships without putting any of them out of action. Early on the morning of August 14, they moved to attack with their land forces. As things stood, it was hard to avoid artillery shells falling into the International Branch and wounding bystanders there, including some Germans. Personalities close to the Japanese imperial family lidi were entrusted with important posts in the Japanese armed forces. Prince Kanin was chief of the general staff, Prince Fushimi chief of the admiral staff. The president of the Autonomous Anti-Communist District in Tung- chow had probably lost his favor with the Japanese in those days. In any case, he was replaced by another personality, Chi Tsung-mo.

The bombers used by both sides again caused numerous casualties among the population of the settlement. In a single day, 1047 people were killed and 1003 wounded. In the battle for the Japanese naval club, the Japanese are said to have lost 200 dead. For the first time, a Japanese bomb squadron advanced to Nanking and caused some damage by dropping bombs. The Chinese returned the attack from the air with a flight of seven planes, which in turn tried to hit the cruiser "Izumo", but they did not succeed. The Japanese high command in the first days of fighting was in the hands of Admiral Hasegawa, who commanded the 3rd Squadron. The first division to arrive from Japan was not put ashore at Shanghai, but was transported up the Liuho Yangtse, already mentioned, to initiate the

encirclement of the Chinese position from there. It arrived there on August 16. English, Americans, and French brought reinforcements ashore and occupied the boundaries of their districts in the establishment and in the French concession. There, martial law was imposed.
In contrast to the fighting near Shanghai in 1932, the Chinese had also taken up positions on the right bank of the Wangpoo, in the village of Putung, which, mainly manned by artillery, caused the Japanese a great deal of trouble because their front in the rear was being shelled from there. With their naval guns and aerial bombs, the Japanese neutralized the Chinese positions, which were embedded in the deep lush green of that garden-like area.
The Japanese government thought it was time to issue an official statement on the events in Shanghai and on the situation in China in general. It concluded: "In order to punish the atrocities committed by the Chinese army and to bring the Nanking government to its senses, Japan feels compelled to take appropriate ruthless measures, to its own deep regret.... Japan harbors no animosity against the peaceful Chinese masses, it only wants to induce the Chinese Government and the Kuomintang Party, both of which have the Chinese people dancing to their tune, to finally come to their right senses." This sharp declaration of war did not result in a declaration of war. Also, the Chinese ambassador, Hsu Chi-ying, remained in Tokyo for the time being. The British proposal to Japan, supported by France, to create a demilitarized zone in Shanghai and station its troops outside the metropolitan area was rejected. A very strong statement was made by the Japanese Prime Minister on August 20. He said that the localization stage of the Sino-Japanese incident was over. The Japanese government now saw its task as forcing Nanking to come to its senses by applying its means of power. At the same time, Tokyo was aware that this was the most serious crisis Japan had faced since the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05.
At the mouth of the Wangpoo into the Yangtze, on the western bank, lies the village of Woosung. North of it, on the headland, embedded in the completely flat terrain are the Woosung Forts, an obsolete installation with old muzzle-loading guns. Even from the command bridge of a high-built steamer, the forts can only be seen with a good glass. For the Japanese attack, the fortifications represented an obstacle that could remain behind the front line without endangering it, but would have to be removed sooner or later. Of the reinforcements brought from Japan, a mixed brigade was deployed to attack the forts. It soon became apparent that a capable Chinese general was commanding there, who was minded to hold his position as long as possible. The elite 87 and 88 Divisions initially deployed by the Chinese in Chapei and to the north were deemed too valuable to expose to further heavy fighting. In their place moved the 1st and 2nd Divisions. On the Japanese side, the troops landed by 23 August reached 60000 men. At Liuho, the Japanese managed to gain a firm foothold against Chinese resistance. Until then, fighting on the Japanese side had been mainly a matter for the naval landing detachments. As a result, the command was also in the hands of Admiral Hasegawa, who was in command in front of Shanghai. With the arrival of Army reinforcements, it seemed advisable to appoint a special commander-in-chief for the Shanghai front, for which purpose the former governor of Formosa Island, Colonel General Matsui, was designated. Upon assuming command, he admitted that the Japanese had suffered heavy losses in the landing. However, he said, Japan would not engage in peace negotiations until the Chinese abandoned their challenges. For Chinese shipping, the blockade was opened by the Japanese naval command. The center of gravity of the fighting shifted more and more to the north, where the Japanese gradually gained space to the south from Liuho. In Tokyo, the decision was made to send more troops into China. The total strength thus grew to the strength of the Japanese peacekeeping army, distributed between northern China and the Shanghai area, i.e. about 300,000 men.
An incident that had diplomatic consequences occurred on August 26. British Ambassador Knatchbull-Hugesson was driving from Nanking to Shanghai in a car still carrying the British military attaché and the British adviser to the Chinese Ministry of Finance, and was bombarded and machine-gunned by an

oncoming Japanese aircraft 80 kilometers from Shanghai. Jumping out of the car, the ambassador was wounded in the back. The Japanese government apologized in London. This settled the case. The ambassador was soon restored. Italy found it necessary to be represented by a landing force in Shanghai as well. The fast cruiser "Montecuccoli" was launched there. The 10th Grenadier Battalion was transferred from Mas- saua in Abyssinia to China in a strength of 24 officers and 700 men.
The reinforced Chinese front received a new commander-in-chief in General Chang Tsen-chung, one of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's closest associates, who was said to want to withdraw the front from the less favorable position near Shanghai and take up a better defensive position 70 kilometers west of the city. The Japanese attacks at Woo- sung progressed sluggishly. The losses were considerable. The Chinese side was very hopeful for the further course of the fighting and expected to regain all lost territory. 30 kilometers northwest of Shanghai is the village of Lotien. On it the Japanese subsequently concentrated their attacks in order to reach the Shanghai-Nanking railroad by breaking through the Chinese front. To this end, the Japanese warships lying off Shanghai were also called upon, leaving their anchorage and dropping anchor again at the Lion Forts. Heavy Japanese gunfire now lay on the intended Lotien-Kating breakthrough front. The fact that the American large overseas steamer "President Hoover" was badly hit by an aerial bomb did not lead to any conflict, since it was a Chinese pilot who had afforded this drop. Before any protest could be received from the U.S. side, the Nanking government stripped the pilot responsible of his rank. On August 31, Nanking declared general mobilization. A first advance by Japanese planes on Canton in southern China reached only the outskirts of the city before the Chinese air defenses.
While Japan had to endure the struggle without any outside help, Chiang Kai-shek, who until before the start of the war had led the Communist
armies in China from the southeast of the country, where they had already set up a Chinese Soviet state on the border of Chekiang province, to the northwest corner of the empire, in Kansu province, turned the wheel 180 degrees and concluded a non-aggression pact with Soviet Russia on August 21. According to it, Moscow was to undertake to deliver to China before the end of November: 362 aircraft, including 120 fighters and 100 bombers, 200 armored cars, including $2 heavy ones, 5000 horses, 2000 horse-drawn wagons, 2500 motorcycles, 1500 tractors for heavy artillery, 150,000 rifles, 120,000 grenades and 60 million rounds of cartridges. Besides, Moscow wanted to provide volunteers of Russian and other nationalities and technicians.
On August 31, the Woosung forts fell into Japanese hands. The obsolete guns were taken to Japan as booty and were later displayed as showpieces at the "Greater Asia" exhibition in Osaka. After this hotly contested success, the Japanese were able to make their troop unloadings on the left bank of the Wangpoo unhindered. After all, the brave defenders of the obsolete fortifications had held out for nearly two months, impeding the Japanese advance. The fighting reached the inland Tungchi College, a joint German-Chinese venture. The college had already suffered badly in 1932, but had been restored to its former condition. This time, the destruction caused by artillery fire from both parties proved so severe that the college abandoned its large buildings and moved its headquarters to southern China.
The long-awaited major Japanese attack began on September 1. The Chinese had to admit heavy losses. Chinese resistance, however, soon recovered, showing that the Chinese wanted to impede the Japanese advance to the utmost. At the same time, China launched a political action. Since the Manchurian incident, which had ended with Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations, there had been a League of Nations Advisory Committee, which included the United States and other nonmembers of the League, without voting. China made no complaint against Japan there, but asked only that the members be informed of the situation in China "where Japan's armed forces have invaded Chinese

territory and are attacking Chinese positions on land, in the air, and at sea in both Central and Northern China."

In this situation, which could hardly be settled by peaceful means, the Japanese government considered it appropriate to inform the people why this struggle was being waged. To this end, the extraordinary session of the Diet was convened, which opened on September 3 with the Tenno's speech from the throne. In it, the Tenno stated: "It has always been our will that our Empire and the Republic of China wish to cooperate in order to safeguard the stability of East Asia and thus achieve the general well-being of our two countries. However, the Republic of China misunderstood the true intentions of our Empire and proceeded to make intended challenges, thus causing the present state of affairs. We deeply regret this. Despite many difficulties, our armed forces are carrying out their duty with loyalty and zeal, for no other purpose than to make the Republic of China reconsider its attitude so that peace may be restored to East Asia as soon as possible." Prime Minister Konoye gave an explanation of this statement before the Diet, and the reference to the mission to be accomplished by Japan deserved special attention. Foreign Minister Koki Hirota spoke after him, emphasizing that Japan's basic policy was to aim at the stabilization of East Asia through cooperation between Japan, Manchukuo and China for mutual welfare. In addition, the Diet demanded a supplementary budget for the war in the amount of two billion yen. The Diet has never been dismissive of these demands. In this respect, the government could be without worries. For government bonds, the internal market was always receptive, although the burdens grew from year to year. In a sense, in response to the imperial throne speech, War Minister General Sugiyama issued an army order demanding the redoubling of the Japanese army's efforts to bring the China conflict to a speedy and fundamental end. The heroic attitude of the army was expressed in an incident when, during the battle for Lotien, Lieutenant Watanabe was wounded and committed seppoku (hara-kiri) to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. His example was followed by $o wounded soldiers of his company. Only once did Chinese airmen make a long-distance flight to Japan. They got as far as the southern island of Kiushiu that time, but dropped leaflets rather than bombs. The hard-fought village of Paoshan fell into Japanese hands on $. September into Japanese hands, but was retaken by the Chinese, who were able to hold it with the excellent Ho Regiment until the 12th.

The advance of the Japanese attack was met by greater difficulties from kilometer to kilometer | nt r.ci'.cn. Swampy rice paddies and countless canals 1, du n the Chinese repeated opportunities to occupy favorable defensive positions, although the terrain is as flat as a tabletop.

The Sino-Soviet-Russian non-aggression pact experienced a notable follow-up on the Chinese side in early September, after the two leaders of the Communist armies, Chuteh and Mao Tse- geng, stayed in Nanking for two weeks and negotiated with Chiang Kai-shek. The result was that the communist detachments were incorporated into the national army as the 8th Army and all officers and enlisted men took the oath of allegiance to Chiang Kai-shek.

Already in those first weeks of the war the fact became increasingly clear that Japan was basically not waging war against China at all, but against England, which was at the head of the nations that had turned China into a country of colonial exploitation. The tendency of the Japanese action was always interpreted by Tokyo to mean that China should be liberated from this semi-colonial condition of its country. Therefore, when in those days the Japanese occupied the Pratas Islands southeast of Hong Kong and then Linting Island not far southwest of Hong Kong, they were even then taking the first steps toward isolating Hong Kong, steps that were to become more pronounced in later times.

Despite using the heaviest weapons, the Japanese had only managed to advance a few kilometers by the first days of September. Since the Japanese armored cars were useless in the boggy terrain, the Japanese used cavalry on their northern wing.

According to a statement by U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hüll, America declined to become actively involved in the East Asian conflict. For a long time, however, Washington considered whether to give the
Neutrality Act should not be given a special interpretation. Finally, President Roosevelt found a way out by prohibiting American government ships from carrying war material to East Asia, i.e., neither to China nor to Japan. Again, since business was an incentive to the dollar imperialists, private companies were permitted to undertake such shipments on their own account. Meanwhile, the time of the usual autumn meeting of the League of Nations had approached. The Chinese representative, Dr. Wellington Koo, delivered a major speech of denunciation in Geneva against Japan for the armed attack, for the imposition of the blok- kade, and for the bombing of non-combatants. China left it to the League of Nations to decide whether the Council, the General Assembly, or the Committee of Nineteen, which had been formed to prosecute Japanese policy in the Far East, should deal with the complaint. Japan had left the League of Nations in 1933 but, as noted, had remained in the International Labor Office and in the Mandate, Opium, and Social Commission. It now threatened, if the League of Nations should decide to take a positive step in response to the Chinese appeal, to sever these last ties with Geneva. We shall see that it did not at first carry out this threat, but only in 1938, in response to another Geneva move, severed these last ties. "Our house is burning, and it is our business to put out the fire," declared a Japanese diplomat at the time.
In mid-September 1937, the Japanese issued an initial casualty list for the fighting in the Shanghai area: 905 killed and 2374 wounded.
Once it became clear that the war would be of incalculable duration, the question of war financing came to the fore on both sides.
fl Momdorf, East Asia
th. China and Japan had taken similar paths in the monetary field. Japan abandoned the gold basis in 1931 and China abandoned the silver currency in 1935. In both countries, the metallic monetary base was replaced by a loose national and manipulated monetary unit linked to the pound sterling. Moreover, both countries had long ago begun to export gold and silver, respectively, to the United States in order to have tangible funds available abroad in the event of war or blockade. China shipped its silver stocks mainly to Hong Kong. Japan's links with the international financial world were much closer than those of China, which had only begun to accumulate foreign assets since the currency reform of 1935. However, with war finance being more of a domestic problem than a foreign one, Japan was ahead of China because the Japanese economy had already been raised according to plan since 1931. Moreover, Japan's national budget had always been set up for government borrowing. China estimated the cost of a one-year defensive war at ten to twelve billion yüan. Initially, internal borrowing was considered for this purpose, with the proviso, however, that the seaports remained in Chinese hands, which was less and less the case from month to month. In any case, China was far more favorable in its monetary and financial armaments in 1937 than it had been at the time of the Manchurian conflict of 1931 and 1932. However, it was in the midst of a transition period when the war with Japan began. The process of conversion to a modern financial economy was far from complete.
By mid-September, indications were becoming clear that the Japanese intended to extend the theater of war into southern China. A landing on the southern
Miste already seemed to indicate an advance into Canton, but was reversed. I . ui z. After this, the first air attack was made on the large island of Hainan. At Shanghai, the Japanese had to await further ver- - i.u cations in the face of stiff Chinese resistance. Cloudburst rains prevented operations on a larger scale. The Japanese

therefore waited for a better weather situation. The peculiar- .111 of the Central China theater of war emerges from the fact that the Japanese commander-in-chief | in the n major air attack on Nanking two days before- Ini In the missions of the foreign powers announced that- iiui these could interior their countrymen from the danger zone. In the I idi ihl.icht that then developed, 46 Japanese planes stood against 17 him. iahe. Neutral observers estimated the strength of the 1 (hinesen at Shanghai at 300000 men, of d. 11. n only 150,000 were in the fighting front, while55
while the rest would be held in reserve about 150 kilometers to the rear. The Chinese estimated the Japanese forces facing them at eight divisions of 300,000 men. These figures are much too high. In fact, fighting on the Japanese side were the 3rd, 9th, 11th Active and 101st Reserve Divisions and a brigade that had made the attack on the Woosung Forts. The total strength was perhaps 70000 men. The considerable numerical superiority on the Chinese side cannot be denied.
There was no question of a stalemate in operations north of Shanghai. On the contrary, the Japanese, using fresh troops landed at Liuho, made new attacks on Lotien, at the breaking point of the Chinese front. Again and again they encountered irresistible defensive strength from the Chinese. As a result, the air attacks on Nanking were undertaken to wear down the Chinese front at the seat of supreme command. At the same time, the naval air force repeatedly attacked Canton. To provide more effective artillery support for the attacks, the Japanese brought ashore from their warships 33-cm guns mounted on concrete pads. The Chinese worked a lot with land mines. In the Japanese attacks, so-called suicide detachments went ahead to clear the way for the main attack. Arriving Chinese reinforcements resulted in a reshuffling in the top leadership. The two army groups fighting north of Shanghai were transferred to General Chu Shao-liang and Cheng Chien, while General Chang Fak-wei assumed supreme command of the third group at Putung east of the Wangpoo River.
In Geneva, the General Assembly of the League of Nations dealt with the bombing of Nanking by Japanese planes. Fifty-two nations pronounced their judgment that, according to a resolution of the Advisory Committee, such action was solemnly condemned and that there was no excuse for it, after the whole world had expressed its disgust and horror. Japan contented itself with a statement by the Foreign Office spokesman that only military targets in Nanking had been attacked. The same statement was made in a note to America, England, and France, emphasizing that Japan had announced its intention to bomb Nanking at an early stage so that foreign nations could get their subjects out of the endangered zone. In any case, Japan was in no way deterred in its plans by the Geneva verdict. The temporary conscription of reservists was extended indefinitely. More importantly, the aforementioned Lieutenant Colonel Doihara, who had in the meantime advanced to the rank of Major General, arrived at Tsi- ii.mfu and there entered into negotiations with the Chinese Governor Han Fu-chü, the issue being whether or not Han Fu-chü wished to side with Japan. His wavering hal- 1 emg later went badly for him. He was summoned to Nanking and shot on the basis of a court-martial verdict.
(lay the end of September, Japanese-Oviet-Russian relations became so strained as a result of the Sino-Soviet-Russian nonaggression pact that Mch Japan had to decide to throw stronger forces into dci Manchuria in order to be s "i at e ited for all possibilities. It was declared in Tokyo that for |i Ji n soldiers going to the China front, two sol- il in n would be marched to Manchuria. \ "i ilh in made the impression that In h u troops, i.e., people between the ages of 20 and 30, were going to Manchuria, while there were a great many reservists in the trenches at Shanghai.
The Chinese continued their counterattacks against the Japanese positions. Still the northern railway station was in Chinese hands, Japanese shells and aerial bombs were again hitting the rubble of Chapei's houses, pulverizing the piles of stones that made up the suburb. On August 8, General Matsui once again issued a proclamation announcing the start of the great offensive, but it was again delayed because the aim was to achieve a Tannenberg victory and not merely to throw the Chinese front too rudely. To

this end, the Japanese went for a breakthrough in the center of the Chinese front and, after several futile attempts, managed to cross Woosung Brook north of Kiangwan. The Chinese claimed that success was achieved by the application of tear gas. The Japanese navy had used the first weeks of the war to destroy the weak forces of the Chinese fleet. Seven cruisers and eight gunboats were to have been sunk, as well as a destroyer and a survey ship. The Naval Air Force had shot down or grounded 324 aircraft for a Japanese loss of 39 aircraft, no ships, and 1133 men.

The Japanese prime minister thought it was time to clarify Japan's intentions. He assumed that it was not understood abroad to hear Japan always talking about peace and cooperation with China, while hostilities were increasing in intensity. The answer could only be: because Japan wanted peace and cooperation, that is why it was fighting in China. China's anti-Japanese actions would have to be eliminated before mutual peaceful relations were possible. Konoye also objected to the claim that Japan wanted to place Emperor Kangte of Manchukuo on the throne of China. There could be no question of that. Japan did not want to establish a second Manchukuo. On the other side, Chiang Kai-shek declared that even without the prospect of foreign help, China would hold out the struggle until victory. The mood was more unforgiving than ever. The Japanese gave their losses at Shanghai by io. October at 12663 men, including 3046 killed in action.

Since the Japanese always emphasized that peace negotiations could only be talked about if Shanghai and Nanking had fallen as well, they again made strong attacks toward the end of October and on October 26 captured on their left wing the North Railway Station and the high-rise building of the railroad administration immediately next to it, both of which had suffered considerably from the bombardments. At the same time, in the center, the hotly contested village of Kiangwan fell into Japanese hands. Although the Japanese took several hundred prisoners in the Chinese retreat, a Tannenberg victory did not occur. Some of the Chinese defected to the International Branch and thus escaped captivity. The Chinese Lieutenant General Chu Yae-hua, who had commanded the troops at the site of Taschang, committed suicide after abandoning the position. For the Chinese, the retreat meant a shortening of the front as they abandoned the sack projecting to the east. The Japanese remained at the blade of the retreating Chinese and broke through the new Chinese position in the center at the village of Nansiang. Wedged in the east by the Wangpoo, in the north by the International Settlement and in the west by the French Concession lies the Chinese town of Nantao in the south of Shanghai. It fell into ruins very soon, but brought the Japanese only a local success with no prospects of making any particular impact in the fight to the north of Shanghai. The course of the fighting showed that the Japanese had used exactly the same procedure as in 1932, attacking in the front and making a thrust into the left flank of the Chinese front from Liuho on the Yangtze. There could therefore be no surprise in this operation for the Chinese, and they took advantage of the Japanese adherence to their old plan. The longer the fighting lasted, with heavy casualties in Japanese frontal attacks in difficult terrain, one had to wonder why an opportunity that presented itself was taken up late, namely, to force down the Chinese front by a sweeping encirclement of the Chinese right wing. Hangchow Bay, south of Shanghai, offered itself for this purpose. But it was not until November 5 that Japanese divisions landed there and, probably to their own surprise, encountered little resistance but found two good roads to the north that brought them into the rear of the Chinese front. The Chinese had several divisions on the north shore of Hangchow Bay at the beginning of the fighting, guns were mounted on the shore, but when the Japanese landed the positions were abandoned. The Chinese had moved their defensive forces to the north front of Shanghai, completely exposing their right flank. Now the position at Shanghai could no longer be held. The Chinese abandoned it on November 12. Again, the Chinese retreat to the west took place in good order. The Japanese success did not mature into an annihilation of the Chinese forces. When the Japanese columns advancing northward from Hang Chow Bay joined hands with the divisions

advancing and retreating from east to west north of Shanghai, the Chinese had already slipped out of their intended grip.

If the warlike events at Shanghai were treated more broadly, it was not because any special experience could be extracted for the military leadership. On the other hand, the defense on the Chinese side, as well as the attack on the Japanese side, was a high song of endurance and bravery, such as the Japanese on the Chinese side had not expected. Their officers did not hesitate to commend the brave conduct of the Chinese divisions from the general to the common man in the front. The Japanese had had a different enemy before the blade than in 1931 and 1933 in their advances in Manchuria and Jehol. Arguably, the Chinese had the advantage of mass manpower and knowledge of a difficult operational terrain. In contrast, the Japanese had a strong air force, armored cars that they could not quite use, and very powerful artillery that the Chinese could only counter with weak forces. Moreover, the Japanese fired their heavy naval guns from the Wangpoo at the Chinese positions without being in danger of receiving an equivalent fire from the Chinese. If the Chinese finally had to give way, the very belated encirclement of their right wing forced them to do so. It was a matter of prestige for China to hold out as long as possible at Shanghai. That has happened. Thus the Chinese supreme leadership stands vindicated.

If the Japanese had thought that the fall of Shanghai would already make the Chinese ready for peace, they were mistaken. Consequently, they pinned their hopes in this regard on the conquest of Nanking, the capital of the Chinese national government. But once again it was to prove that the occupation of the enemy's capital need not be decisive for the war.

China was determined to make it as difficult as possible for the Japanese to reach Nanking. The left wing of the Chinese lineup north of Shanghai was withdrawn last, and Nanziang and Sung- kiang were abandoned after Kiating to avoid being covered. This was done on November 14. On the 17th the Japanese were at Chapu. The following day Changsu fell on the Shanghai-Nanking road, and again a day later Soochow. From their landing place at Hangchow Bay, the Japanese reached Wuhing on the southwest shore of the Great Tai Lake on November 24. By the 25th Wusih, the important road junction at the northern tip of the lake, and opposite Changhing were in their possession. Kwangteh, on the road from Changhing viaWuhu to Nanking on theYangtze, was abandoned on November 29. A day later the Chinese abandoned Changchow, halfway between Shanghai and Nanking. But still the Chinese possessed offensive spirit. On December 2 they recaptured Kwangteh and likewise on December 3 Changhing, 60 kilometers to the east. On December 4, Tanyang, east of Nanking, had to be surrendered to the Japanese. The stubbornly defended Kiang-yin Fort on Yangtze Lake was no longer held on December 8.

With this, the Japanese had entered the Nanking outer area, where their attack began as early as December 7. Kuan Hua Gate was stormed on December 11. Two days later, the Japanese moved into the capital. General Matsui was the victor not only of Shanghai but also of Nanking. From now on, the Chinese switched to a new tactic. They destroyed everything that could be useful to the enemy during their retreats and called this tactic the "scorched earth tactic".

Far from giving up Nanking without a fight, the Chinese threw two elite divisions into the city at the last minute, the defense of which was in the hands of General Tan Sheng-chi. The Japanese attacks were initially directed at Purple Hill in the east of the city, where the memorial and burial place of Dr. Sun Yat-sen are located. The storming of Kuan Hua Gate was carried out by the Waki- saka detachment, which had often proved itself in previous battles, and to which General Matsui sent a telegram of congratulations after the success. The advance into the interior of the city was made under the leadership of Prince Yashahito Asaka, a member of the Supreme War Council, and it was necessary to fight for every street, indeed for every house. The prospects for peace were more shrouded than ever.

The Tokyo Cabinet passed a resolution, "Even after the fall of Nanking, the war must continue." War Minister Sugiyama is reported to have stated at the Cabinet meeting, "The Army does not desire a peaceful settlement of the conflict through the mediation of a third power. It does not regard the capture of Nanking as the end of the war. Nanking is not our ultimate goal."

One month and one day after the fall of Shanghai, four months after the beginning of the fighting of Shanghai, the Japanese were in possession of the enemy capital. The Japanese Emperor received the Chief of the General Staff, Prince Kanin, and the Chief of the Admiral's Staff, Prince Fushimi, on December 14 and informed them as follows: "I express my utmost satisfaction that Japanese Army and Fleet detachments in Central China, after the fall of Shanghai, have continued the pursuit struggle and have now, with such extraordinary courage and admirable determination, also captured the Chinese capital. I request that this My recognition be made known to all officers of the Army and Fleet."

And the ('.hinese government? It did not give up the fight and did not see its cause as lost. It still had enough room to continue the war for an undreamt-of period of time. It pushed the guerrilla warfare and drove detachments far into the hinterland of the Japanese-occupied territory. The next suitable seat of government was the large city of Hankau on the middle Yangste. However, it served only temporarily as an official seat for some government departments. Chiang Kai-shek had thought of an even more distant and safer location,_ although it would later prove to offer no protection against the Japanese air force. On November 16, the National Government moved its headquarters to Chungking on the upper Yangtze River, a city built in heels on high rock. Thus began a new phase in the course of the Sino-Japanese war. But what had happened in the past months in northern China on the theater of war there? On August 8, the Japanese had entered Peking.

VI. FROM PEKING AND TIENTSIN TO THE SOUTH

Already during the Chinese general battles of the previous years, the military events had mostly taken place along the not very numerous Chinese railroad lines. It was no different now with the advances of the Japanese, for which the railroad lines gave the main direction, as far as the large rivers could not serve the same purpose. After the Tientsin area, which had belonged to the command of the Chinese 29th Army, had been cleared in the northern theater of the war, the Japanese turned first from Peking to the northwest, where considerable parts of the northern Chinese troops had diverged along the railroad to Kalgan and formed a threat to the Japanese right flank. The railroad leading there to Inner Mongolia first touched the village of Nankau and, at the height of the mountains, broke through the Great Wall at Nankau Pass, which presented itself excellently for defense. There, General Wang Chu-lien's 89th Division and four other divisions were entrenched. This was the first time that the Japanese had met troops of the National Government in Nanking on this battlefield. The Japanese commander-in-chief on this part of the front, later War Minister Itagaki, moved his headquarters to Changping on the Peking-Kalgan railroad. Streams of refugees moved from the battle front to Peking, which was temporarily almost completely cut off from traffic. Only slowly did rail traffic from Beijing to Tientsin resume with one passenger train daily. On August 12, Nankau Station was occupied by the Japanese. They had to secure themselves simultaneously to the south, where the Chinese of Laingsiang Hsien had initiated an advance on Peking.

From Nankau, the Japanese divisions immediately moved to attack the Nankau Pass. In order to break the "Chinese resistance at the Nankau Pass more quickly, the Japanese undertook a clever strategic maneuver. They had detachments of their army in Manchukuo move into the Mongolian province of Chahar, which occupied the province's capital, Kalgan, on August 23 without significant resistance. This also threatened the Chinese position at Nankau Pass from the rear. The Japanese avoided attacking the pass head-on, instead bypassing it from the west, breaking through Chinese lines at a strategic point,

and planting the Sun Banner at various points on the Great Wall. The Chinese evaded along the railroad to Hwailai in a northwesterly direction. The fighting for the northern gateway to China had lasted twelve days. Then the Japanese were victorious. Later, the Japanese advanced to the end point of the Kalgan Railway to Pautau at the northern great knee of the Hoangho.

While this operation into Inner Mongolia may appear to be only a secondary operation, it was significant for the further conduct of the war. It gave the Japanese the operational base in the broadest form for further advances to the south. In addition, there was an important political moment. Through this advance into Inner Mongolia, the Japanese entered into close contact with Prince Yun, who wielded power there. They knew how to persuade him to place himself under Japanese protection and to be included in the North China-Manchukuo combination as the third link. Until now, the Japanese had only the narrow bottleneck along the coast to the east via Shanheikwan as access to North China. In order to also widen the transportation possibilities, they proceeded to build a railroad from the capital of Jehol Province to Beijing via Kupeikou Pass. The railroad was built very quickly and must be addressed as an engineering feat in the difficult terrain. Because of the many curves, it has received the nickname "zigzag railroad". The first train to run on the line derailed in one of the many tunnels.

Now the two major railroad lines Peking-Hankau and Tientsin-Pukau opposite Nanking became the lines of direction for the further Japanese advance, while in the west the new railroad line running through Shansi Province from north to south to the western section of the Lunghai Railway brought fighting with heavy losses for the Japanese. On the Peking-Hankau railroad, the entire area north of the Yungting River was cleared first. On the Tientsin-Pukau railroad, a Japanese attack was made on Chinese positions near Tsinghai south of Tientsin on August 24. The entire Japanese front swung in, as it were, from the Peking- Tientsin line to the west-southwest. In the west, the advance was directed toward Shansi Province, where the so-called model governor Yen Hsi-chan ruled, and in the east toward Shantung Province, where General Han Fu-chü was in command. From there, the Japanese had removed 2000 people's comrades to Japan. The Chinese expected the Japanese to land at Tsingtao, but it was months in coming. The Japanese front width was about 300 kilometers in northern China. Seven Chinese divisions were reported at the Hankau Railway and five at the Pukau Railway, which could not be considered first-class. Opposite them the Japanese had bcrcitted 130000 men for the attack, who were equipped with all modern weapons, also airplanes. On September 6, the eastern Japanese attack column was at Machang, 60 kilometers south of Tientsin. A few days later, the new Japanese commander-in-chief, Colonel General Terauchi, took command of the North China Front. On the right wing, a column advanced in the mountainous terrain toward Tatung in Shansi Province. There the previous Communist army under Chu-te had sided with the Nanking government. It had, as mentioned, been incorporated into the Nanking government's armed forces as the 8th Army. The ambition of the hitherto Red generals was very great. For the sake of the people and the Fatherland, they wanted to march to Tokyo. It was noticed at that time that the Japanese were piling up vast stores of war material in Peking and Tientsin, such as far exceeded in scope what was needed to overcome Chinese resistance. From this it was concluded that the advance to Kalgan was not only to eliminate the threat of Chinese troops from there, but also to provide a base in case a threat from the Soviet Russian side should occur. Relations with Moscow had become very strained at that time after the clash at the Amur Islands. In fact, it was not until July 1939 that the heavy fighting at Nomon-han took place in that area, and there were fears that these clashes could develop into a full-scale war between Japan and Soviet Russia.

On September 11, Machang fell into Japanese hands after several days of fighting. The victor of Ma-

The first to arrive on the left wing was Lieutenant General Isogai, the former Japanese military attaché in China. After this success on the Japanese left wing, the right in Shansi Province came into heavy combat with the Chinese divisions defeated at Nankau Pass. The

important city of Tatung was occupied by the Japanese on September 13. However, the Japanese still encountered considerable Chinese resistance in the center on the Hankau railroad, which could only be broken after all weapons, including armored cars, had been used. The next objective was the Chinese position near the large city of Paotingfu on the Hankau railroad, where the headquarters of the Chinese commander-in-chief was located. The Chinese retreat that was now taking place on the entire front gave the leading Chinese newspaper "Takungpao" in Nanking cause to shower the leadership of the 29th Army with severe reproaches. Cowardice, indecisiveness and selfishness on the part of the army leadership had led to Kalgan being surrendered to the Japanese without a fight and to the easily defensible Nankau Pass being abandoned for no reason.

The fighting on their extreme right wing, where they wanted to advance on Taiyüan-fu along the Shansi Railway, was quite difficult for the Japanese. At the crossing of the Yungting River, which joins the Peiho at Tientsin, fierce fighting broke out on the left wing at Kuan, where the Japanese were said to have faced 300,000 Chinese. The Chinese, in their retreat, broke all bridges and turned the country into a wasteland. Reinforcements for the right wing were brought in from Peking via Kalgan and escorted by aircraft on the way to Kalgan to be secure against privateers. On the left (east) wing, the Japanese strove for Tsinanfu, the capital of Shantung Province. Japanese planes cleared up to the Lunghai Railway, which runs from west to east on the south bank of the Hoangho River. The Japanese described the North China Battle as the largest since the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. South of Beijing, the Japanese front was as far as

had been advanced to 45 kilometers. The Japanese high command was in Tientsin at the time. During the capture of Tatung on the extreme right wing, large quantities of loot ammunition had fallen into the hands of the Japanese. On September 17, Paotingfu was under fire from Japanese bombers. The first snow fell in the Shansi Mountains. On the railroad to Hankau, the village of Liuliho was occupied by the Japanese. On all fronts, the Chinese divisions put up fierce resistance, although they did not form the best troops of the National Army. The Chinese were especially aggressive on the Japanese wings, and their movements benefited from the fact that the Japanese were not fighting in a closed front, but had their divisions spread out over 300 kilometers. Fifty kilometers south of Beijing there was even an engagement with the front reversed, in that the Chinese attacked from north to south. West of Peking, Chinese divisions in the western mountains were as close as 15 kilometers to Peking. On September 17, Chaochow fell into Japanese hands at the Hankau Railway. The governor of Shansi Province, General Yen Hsi-shan, had the commander of the 68th Division arrested for making serious tactical errors in defending the city of Tatung.

The Japanese had hoped to prepare a "Tannenberg" for considerable Chinese forces southwest of Peking. 100,000 Chinese were supposed to have been ■. "penned in. As always, the (hinese proved to be masters of retreat. They broke through to the southwest and south. The Japanese could only frontally vofstoßen at the railroad to Hankau and occupy K.iopeitien.

I)ic Japanese, who stayed in the blade of the retreating Chinese as much as possible, came with their left wing

-m <lci Ticm-.in I'nkati railroad most rapidly advanced, ■"m : ■ S(pi< mix i was occupied the main district town south of I |ent -.in, Tsangchou, about 100 kilometers tidlnli I iintsin. In the center, the Vormai mIi iiul l'aotingfu proceeded concentrically from the northwest and Noi den. On the 22nd the Japanese were nm noili 15 k ilometers from Paotingfu. To the northwest hei 1.1)',. on it Mancheng. On September 24, after final fighting in front of the town, the Japanese moved into l'aotingfu. The Chinese front was thus broken at a decisive point. Since the Japanese advance generally adhered to the railroad lines, long stretches between them remained untouched by the fighting. There the irregulars pushed in,

who were called bandits by the Japanese, but were generally soldiers, even if they had for the most part divested themselves of their uniforms. October 1 marks the day the Shantung border was crossed by occupying the village of Sangyüanchen. The attitude of the governor of the province, General Han Fu-chü, was still unclear. Would he stand toe to toe and clear the way for the Japanese, or would he offer the resistance that Nanking expected of him? The Japanese advance was immediately continued on the city of Techou.

In those days, a new strategic plan was drafted at Japanese headquarters that called for a landing at Haichow in the northeastern tip of Kiangsu Province, where the Lunghai Railway, coming from the west, touches the sea. This would surround Shantung Province from the south and drive a wedge between the two Chinese fronts, to the north and near Shanghai. At Techou, the Chinese were thrown from their entrenched positions by an untoward move by the Japanese, leaving behind numerous war materials. The Japanese advance on the extreme right wing was particularly rapid among the forces advancing in Inner Mongolia without connection with the main front. In the first days of October it was possible to occupy Pailingmiao, which in the future became the seat of the autonomous Mongolian government. The whole province of Chahar and large parts of Suiyuan were thus in Japanese hands.

In passing, there have already been several references to the fighter planes of both parties. There is still something to be said about it. Even more than in other countries, the air force of the Chinese and Japanese was something highly modern, which could only look back on a very short period of development. In both military powers the air force did not form an independent part, but was subordinated to the army in China and to the army and navy in Japan. The Japanese naval aviators participated very largely in land operations during the course of the war, since they very soon lacked an equal opponent, a Chinese fleet. China had only war-disabled old small cruisers. A single new cruiser, "Ning-Hai" of 2 joo tons, had been built in Japan and returned to its country of origin after the Japanese took possession of it in early December 1937. The Japanese navy participated excellently in the various I andings of the Army, in which, according to the judgments of expert neutrals, the Japanese always proved to be masters. In bad icm weather, landings were often successfully "lled. And in the use of air power, too, the longer the war lasted, the Japanese showed a mastery of air space. One hardly expected <1 is, since airplane accidents had not been uncommon in Japan in previous years. These accidents were not so much due to lack of aeronautical skill as to the very high demands made on aeronautical performance. As early as 192j, two Japanese aviators had made a long-distance flight from Tokyo to Berlin and back without an accident. In any case, the Japanese army and navy leadership did not allow itself to be disturbed by unfavorable judgments, but continued to go about its work in earnest.

Both in northern China and in the battles near Shanghai and Nanking, the Japanese air force soon proved superior to the Chinese, even though the latter had also achieved considerable feats in just a few years. In North China, the Japanese airmen paved the way for the infantry. General Sun Chi- yuan's army would not have been forced to abandon the Beijing area as quickly as it actually did without the use of Japanese air power. The Japanese airmen also bombed the Chinese positions to assault in the capture of the Nankau Pass and Kaigan. In reconnaissance, bombing and pursuit they did all that could be asked of them. The same can be said of the Chinese air force. It always kept its attacking spirit, but was more and more put on the defensive by the Japanese superiority.

In both armies, the aviators are regarded as elite troops who receive their training at aviation schools that are hardly inferior to the European schools. In northern China, the Japanese pilots had an easy time of it because initially there was no air force at all on the other side. In Shanghai, on the other hand, they encountered an equal opponent. The Nanking government had purchased a considerable number of aircraft abroad in the years before the war. It was also the custom for aircraft to be donated to the government. The city of Shanghai gave Chiang Kai-shek 70 state-of-the-art fighter planes for his 50th

birthday in 1936. Despite their initial inferiority, the Japanese knocked the Chinese air force out of the field at Shanghai in just 14 days and extended their bombing flights to Nanking. Japanese airmen know no parachute. It is considered dishonorable for them to save themselves by parachute if necessary. Their personal armament consists of the revolver and the samurai sword. If a Japanese pilot is forced to go down, he must first destroy his papers, then his plane, and must sell his life as dearly as possible. If he is in danger of being overpowered, he must take his own life, if he succeeds, with the sword, otherwise with the revolver. With this attitude, it is not surprising that Japanese aviation during the war is full of heroic deeds of the aviators, who achieved amazing things in contempt for death and sense of duty. Their courage in death is due to the fact that every order is regarded as coming from the Emperor and as sacred as the person of the Emperor himself. That therefore several top 11 legers with unsurpassable achievements emerged is not surprising. Their role models were the be- 1 iihinten German aviators from the World War, Richthofen and Immelmann, whose outstanding achievements they sought to emulate. They were aware of their superiority over the Chinese pilots. They emerged from countless air battles as '>!<)■,ers. They met with the Chinese ml the most varied models of fighter planes, as < hina from almost all aircraft-producing countries sought to maintain ■ imn stock on the high ground. At lh ginning of the war, Japan had 1500 front-line aircraft and the same number of second-line aircraft. No figures have come to light for the Chinese side.

The material superiority of the Japanese Wehrmacht was countered by the Chinese mass of people. Even after heavy losses, they had a human reservoir that could fill all the gaps. The mass could not replace the lack of quality and equipment. In the battles near Shanghai, divisions appeared on the Chinese side that were equipped only with long swords and thus charged against the most modern weapons.

The peacetime strength of the Japanese Army was 18 divisions, two of which, the 19th and 20th, were permanently located in Korea, three in Manchukuo, and one in northern China. One brigade was deployed to occupy Formosa Island (Taiwan) there.

Four divisions had been abolished in 1925 and 1926 and were immediately restored at the start of the war. Mobilization tripled the division strength, so that 54 divisions were expected, of which only 46 existed in June 1938. The main mass, about 30 to 32 divisions, was later in China on the fronts, six to eight in Manchukuo, one in Korea, and six to eight in the I leimat. Transfers to China were not in closed divisions, but in brigades and even regiments. There also appears to have been an exchange of front-line divisions with home divisions. It has been widely claimed that the best divisions were kept ready in Manchukuo, while only second-line divisions fought in China. The active divisions bore the numbers 1 to 20, followed by newly raised divisions numbered 21 to 26. The reserve divisions bore the numbers of their parent divisions with the added number 100. Since the peacetime strength of the Japanese Army was 275,000 men and the annual recruit contingent 120000 men, it follows that with 2$ year classes there were 2% million trained. How many were actually deployed to the front in China is difficult to say. Japanese military officials described the figure of 1.5 million as too high. Motorization went a long way in the Japanese armed forces. China followed up the initially pronounced mobilization with general mobilization. It is estimated that this called 3 million to the flag. The Chinese themselves state only 1.6 million. The Chinese government announced a total loss of 300,000 men at the end of 1938.

After this digression back to the events on the northern front! The more the fighting on the Japanese right wing in Shansi Province approached the cold season, the greater the demands placed on the troops in the mostly mountainous terrain. There were also setbacks, which had to be repaired by new counterattacks. It was noted very badly in Tokyo that, in the first days of October, the English Archbishop of Canterbury had spoken approvingly of Japan's action in China at a meeting in the Albert

Hall in London. A counter-rally was then held in Tokyo, attended by 45,000 people, in which England was strongly reminded of the laws of neutrality. Shortly thereafter, as noted above, U.S. President Roosevelt raised his voice when he inaugurated the great new shore- bt ticke in Chicago on October 5, 1937, coining the phrase about the an- i'.ill'.funny states that should be ■.quarantined. In Tokyo, it was well understood that primarily Japan was meant by this remark. The growing disgruntlement between the two powers over the next few years, while not taking its origin from the President's speech in Chicago, added new disgruntlement to the old.

Chiang Kai-shek dealt very harshly with those generals who were guilty of dereliction of duty during the war years. For example, General Li Fu-ying, who commanded in Shansi, was executed because he was held responsible for several defeats.

The excitement over Roosevelt's speech in Chicago had hardly subsided in Tokyo when America brought out even heavier artillery and drew the consequences of the speech. The State Department, in an official communication on the Far East conflict, declared that Japan had violated the principles that should govern between nations. It had violated both the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington and the Kellogg Pact. Moreover, America declared its solidarity with the resolutions of the League of Nations in the Far East conflict. In contrast, Japan's actions grew a defender in Italy, which assured it of its sympathy in the Italian press. The League of Nations was described by Japan as a disturber of the peace, opposed to the necessities of the peoples. China agreed unreservedly with the American statements.

On the Hankau Railway, Japanese action made further progress after the capture of Paotingfu. On October 8, 1937, the town of Chen- tingfu was occupied. The Japanese were opposite the Chinese main position south of the Huto River. The bridges had been blown up. Many Chinese soldiers were killed in the river because they could not save themselves from being blown up on the Siid bank. In the further advance, the Japanese took the important town of Shihkiachwang on this front, where the railroad to Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi Province, branches off to the west. Thus the last Chinese stronghold in Hopei Province was in Japanese hands. On the Chinese side, General Shang Chen's army had been defeated, which included the corps of Generals Wei Li-hung, Wan Fu-lin, and Son Hsie-tsun. All along the Japanese attack front, from Mongolia to Shantung Province, Japanese divisions were in action. However, destruction of Chinese army units was nowhere achieved. The enemy always knew how to escape the catastrophe in time.

To hasten the fall of the Shansi capital, Taiyüan, the Japanese diverted a westward advancing detachment from their column on the Hankau Railway, which soon succeeded in occupying Tsingsing on the Taiyüan Railway. In contrast, the Chinese succeeded in an advance north of Taiyüan at the village of Yauanping, forcing 3000 Japanese to retreat. The Chinese also reinforced their air force on the northern front. In Inner Mongolia, the Japanese attack did not meet much resistance, although General Ma, known from Manchuria from the fighting in 1931, was reported to have been present there. The Japanese were in rapid action on the capital of Suiyuan, Kweisui, which was soon under the fire of the Japanese artillery, in which the famous Mongol cavalry of Prince Yun rendered them valuable services. Proceeding from the east toward the Yhansi frontier, the Japanese captured Niangtze, the border town between I lonci and Shansi provinces, on October 13, and the town of Pingyuan on the Pukau Railway at the advance ■ ioss on Tsinanfu. Neutral observers were under the impression that the rapid advance of the Japanese on all fronts was a record in the history of war. However, they were greatly troubled by the irregulars who advanced between the columns into the unoccupied terrain, practicing these tactics to perfection. On October 14, Kweisui fell into the hands of the Japanese.

President of the South Manchurian Railway at that time was Yosuke Matsuoka, a diplomat by profession and best known for his leadership of the Japanese delegation to Geneva in February 1933, when the Assembly pronounced judgment against Japan's Manchurian policy, whereupon Japan turned

its back on the League. Matsuoka, in those October days of 1937, in a conversation with an American press representative, strictly rejected any interference by third countries in the conflict with China. His remarks are significant because, as mentioned, he became foreign minister in the second cabinet of Prince Fumimaro Konoye in 1940. He went on to say, "If Japan were not willing to sacrifice herself for China, it would be better for our race to perish. Japan must follow its path marked out by destiny." No less interesting were his statements on Japan's financial capacity. He described as completely unfounded the view, widely held abroad, that Japan was incapable of financing the war in China. He pointed out that Japan had invested two billion yen (1 yen = 71 pennies) in Manchukuo over five years without getting any of it back. Despite this, he said, it was still financially very capable.

Despite Chinese attempts to halt the advance of the Japanese columns on all fronts by counterattacks, they continued to advance steadfastly on their lines of advance. On both sides
air squadrons attacked distant targets, Japanese planes especially in the Canton area, where the railroad from Kaulun to Canton was destroyed several times by bomb hits. Chinese planes attacked the Japanese airport at Tientsin. On October 15, the Japanese had reached the following points: 1. Mongol front on the way to Pautau, 2. Shansi front advancing from the north and east on the capital Taiyuan, 3. Hankau front 380 kilometers south of Beijing and 280 kilometers north of the Yellow River, Shunteh occupied and in pursuit of the Chinese on Changthe, 4. Shantung front 50 kilometers north of the Yellow River and also of Tsinanfu.

Where enemy resistance permitted, the advance on all fronts proceeded with giant strides. On October 17, Pautau and with it the entire length of the Suiyuan Railway from Peking to Pautau via Kalgan was occupied. Since Pautau lies at the northern knee of the Hoangho, this important waterway for transports from Mongolia to Honan and Shantung was simultaneously closed to the Chinese. The Chinese offered the fiercest resistance in Shansi, where the very mountainous terrain provided them with excellent defensive positions. InNorthwest Shansi, the Chinese had led a skillful counteroffensive into the rear of the Japanese columns advancing on Taiyüan, temporarily cutting them off from their communications. The Japanese detachments that had swung west from the Hankau Railway also encountered unexpected resistance on the border /between Hopei and Shansi. Chinese divisions had built small mountain fortresses there, which had to be blown up by the Japanese pioneers. Only d,mn the Japanese succeeded in capturing the important < irence pass of Hsingkukuang, about 130 kilometers east of Taiyuan. Thus this wing of the Japanese advance hung back more and more, as the main column on the Hankau Railway had already crossed the border of Honan Province and was on the attack against the village of Fenglochen, which is already inside Honan. The severity of the fighting on the Shansi front was revealed by the casualty report from a Chinese source that General HoMeng-ling, commander of the 9th Army, General Lin Chia-chi, commander of the 4th Division, and General Chen Ting-ching, commander of the 5th Brigade, had been killed in the days of October ij and 16. There was still no clarity about the attitude of the governor of Shantung, General Han Fu-chü. He had probably marched his three divisions, 29th, 74th, and 81st, together about 3 5,000 men, without indicating whether or not he intended to block the way of the Japanese.

Since the Chinese on the Shansi front could not be met head-on from the north and also from the east after weeks of fighting, but the occupation of Taiyuan was urgently desired by the Japanese high command, the Japanese with the eastern column moved out even further and after fighting occupied the village of Yütze, southeast of Taiyuan. The Hankau column, advancing southward, captured the village of Changteh on the railroad. In Shantung, the Japanese pushed close to Tsinanfu. At last on November 6, the same day that the Japanese made the landing at Hangchow Bay near Shanghai, which resulted in the withdrawal of the Chinese defenders of Shanghai, Taiyüan fell into the hands of the Japanese. The Chinese had made this success very sour for them. Gates of honor were erected in Beijing to celebrate

this victory. The Shansi provincial government went to Pingyao, 230 kilometers south of Taiyüan, where the governor of the
Province, General Yen Hsi-shan, moved his headquarters.
The territory occupied by the Japanese included the provinces of Hopei, Chahar and Suiyuan, most of Shansi, the northern tip of Honan and a small part in the north of Shan- tung, in total about 550,000 square kilometers. To this was added the occupied part near Shanghai and politically the establishment of the independent Inner Mongolian state. This was the result of three months of war. In the capture of Changthe on the Hankau Railway, the detachment of Major General Banzai, who had been a military attaché at the Japanese Embassy in Berlin, had distinguished itself. There he faced the remnants of the Chinese 29th Army, where the war had begun in July at Marco Polo Bridge.
In our terms, a joint supreme command for the various Japanese fronts should have been created long ago. The Japanese emperor, however, is the supreme commander of the Wehrmacht. But it would have been appropriate to create a joint command in China itself in order to harmonize operations. This requirement could hardly be met by the Imperial Headquarters created on November 17, 1937, and organized on the pattern of a similar body during the Russo-Japanese War. In it, the chiefs of the General and Admiral Staffs, in conjunction with the Army and Navy, had to determine the war aims. On the other hand, on the Chinese side, the command of the operations was only in the hands of Generalissimo Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, who in those days gave up the presidency of the Imperial Executive anitcs to Finance Minister Kung in order to devote himself to the military tasks alone. The move of the Chinese government with President Lin Sen to Qhungking was in full swing.
The large iron railroad bridge over the Hoangho, once built by German engineers at Tsinanfu, was blown up by the Chinese. On November 18, the Chinese cleared the port of Chifu on the Gulf of Pechili after destroying all port facilities. It was feared that the Japanese fleet would attack Chifu in conjunction with the army in its attack on Shantung. The crossing of the Hoangho was to take place on a front of 55 kilometers between Chiho and Chiyang. The Chinese sought to counter this by breaching the dikes of the Hoangho, whereupon a tidal wave over three meters high flooded the surrounding countryside. Tsinanfu was now under fire from Japanese artillery. No great political significance was to be attached to the declarations of independence of Honan and Shansi provinces made in the first days of December. They were made mainly for the purpose of bringing order to the interior after the competent Chinese authorities had fled.
On December 6, 1937, the German ambassador, Dr. Oskar Trautmann, returned from Hankau to Nanking. At first there was a great deal of puzzlement about this trip by the ambassador. In fact, Germany had made its ambassador available to convey Japanese peace conditions to the Nanking government without Germany acting as a peace broker. The Japanese conditions mentioned were 1. participation of China in the Anti-Comintern Agreement, 2. recognition of Manchukuo and agreement to the autonomy of northern China, 3. creation of a Japanese concession in Shanghai, 4. reform of the Chinese customs administration, and 5. reshuffle of the Kuomintang (Chinese People's Party, also the ruling party). In a cabinet meeting held on io. December in Tokyo, it was decided to continue operations after the fall of Nanking. Furthermore, an official announcement was made that Marshal Chiang Kai-shek was to be considered solely responsible for the situation. He was no longer recognized by Japan and was also rejected as a partner in any negotiations.
Japanese-American relations suffered a new cloud when, during the fighting over Nanking, the American gunboat "Panay," named after an island in the Philippines, was sunk by Japanese artillery. In itself, the case was very clear, but it showed what diplomatic incidents could arise from the foreign powers insisting on their right to sail warships on the Chinese rivers. It must be noted, however, that the German embassy personnel in Nanking accepted the English offer and left imperiled Nanking on an

English gunboat. The Japanese immediately apologized for the sinking of the "Panay" and later paid a considerable sum as compensation after negotiations.

In order to shed light on the domestic political situation in Japan, the change in the post of Minister of the Interior, which took place in the first days of December 1937, must be inserted into these events in a timely manner. Minister of the Interior Baba had resigned, allegedly for reasons of public spiritedness. He was succeeded by the former fleet commander Admiral Suetsugu, who was to be regarded as a representative of extreme nationalist circles and had already openly advocated their principles in speech and writing while in active service. He was particularly zealous against the prerogatives of other powers in China and the isolonial character that China had consequently acquired.

7 M <111 iJ o r f, East Asia would have adopted. Suetsugu had undertaken an action to strengthen the national idea and wanted to put the education of the youth on a national basis more sharply than before. Prime Minister Konoye, in his second premiership, found in him the warmest support for the creation of Japan's new national structure.

The rapid advance of the Japanese army columns in northern China had forced the insertion of a pause. Above all, it was necessary to secure the stage that was more and more troubled by the Chinese irregulars. Thus, in December, the latter had blown up the railroad line to Paotingfu only 60 kilometers from Beijing.... The Japanese also saw fit to establish civil administrations in the conquered areas in order to restore order to civic life. Therefore, a "Provisional Government of Republican China" was established in Beijing. The five-striped republican flag was flown on all public buildings in Beijing in place of the flag of the national government. The government consisted of three committees for legislation, executive power and jurisdiction. This new government set itself the task of restoring domestic peace and order and taking measures to achieve full understanding between the Japanese and Chinese peoples. This government could only exist under the protection of the Japanese guns. The Chinese personalities who made themselves available began a dangerous game and in many cases lost their lives through assassination attempts. The Chinese national government called it a "puppet government," as did the Manchukuo government. The new government in Beijing had no president. It was headed by a main committee of eight members chaired by Chiang Chao-tsun, the mayor of Beijing. The Judicial Committee was headed by former Justice Minister Tung Kang, the Legislative Committee by former Education Minister TangErh-ho, and the Enforcement Committee by former Finance Minister Wang Ko-min, who later assumed the chairmanship of the overall government after Chiang Chao-tsun, handing it over in the spring of 1940 to Wang I-tang, who had initially headed the Reconstruction Department and was president of the Anfu Club, with which the Japanese had always worked closely, as mentioned above.

VII BRUSSELS

The military and also some political events treated here have passed over an event which must be added to form the general picture. It concerns the political theater, which was raised in Brussels in November 1937 and was jokingly called a gala opera in the absence of the Prima Donna - by which Japan was meant. At China's instigation, the idea had already been mooted in Geneva in September 1937 that the Sino-Japanese dispute, as the war was still called, should be referred to a conference attended by the sub-celebrates of the Nine-Power Treaty on China signed at the Washington Conference on February 6, 1922. The League of Nations itself had lost its appetite for the Sino-Japanese problem after operating very unhappily with its Lytton Commission on the Manchurian question. When Geneva formed a new East Asia Committee, a statement was immediately made by Tokyo saying that the Geneva decisions could not change Japan's China policy. Japan was not a member of the League of Nations and therefore did not care about the decisions of that body.

The East Asia Committee comprised 13 members. It turned to the already existing Far East Committee with its 23 members, which in turn advocated the convening of a conference of the Nine-Power Treaty States. Since the United States was not a member of the League of Nations, the way was found for the invitation to the intended conference to be extended to the Nine-Power Treaty States. On October 6, the Geneva General Assembly decided to follow the suggestion of the 23 Committee and to undertake the dispatch of the invitations. Siam and Poland abstained. Invitations went out to South Africa, Australia, Belgium, Great Britain, Canada, China, France, India, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, and also to Bolivia, Denmark, Mexico, Norway and Sweden, which later joined the treaty. Japan could rightly point out what some of these states actually had to do with its conflict with China. The whole nonsense of these international attempts to regulate major national issues of a country, and a great and world power at that, came to light.

Japan's reply to the League of Nations resolution made no mention of the planned conference, but emphasized emphatically that Japan's action in China was in no way in conflict with existing treaties. Both the Nine-Power Treaty and theKellogg Pact had nothing to do with what was going on in China. Mussolini officially declared in Tokyo that Italy in every way supported Japan's position in its struggle against China. Japan was only exercising the legitimate right of self-defense. China did not move fast enough in its preparations for the conference. It urged greater acceleration in Geneva. And where should they meet? Finally, Brussels was chosen and the Belgian government agreed to the plan. On October 30, the conference was to convene. America had at hand a suitable personage for such events in the person of the non-bcam Ambassador Norman Davis. England wanted to send Secretary of State Anthony Eden. While the American delegation set out for Brussels aboard the steamer "Washington" as early as October 20, the invitation to Japan to attend arrived only on the 21st and was justified by the Belgian ambassador with the sentence that it was a matter of examining the situation in the Far East with a view to ending the Sino-Japanese conflict by friendly means as soon as possible. The next day, the spokesman of the Foreign Office declared that the invitation had come too late, so that the participation of a Japanese delegation was impossible. On October 27, the Japanese Foreign Minister presented the Belgian Ambassador with the Emperor's approved reply to the invitation to Brussels. Participation was refused. This was not done simply in a brief refusal, but in an official communication to the powers, in which once again Japan's position on the China question was set forth in detail and justified. Germany had also been invited, but was turned down, although it was stated that the German government was prepared to cooperate in a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Italy had accepted. Its delegation leader was Luigi Aldrovandi-Marescotti, who had already been part of the Lytton Commission. Soviet Russia, which had been invited as a non-signatory to the Nine-Power Treaty, sent Litvinov and Potemkin. Foreign Minister Delbos came from France.

At 11 o'clock in the morning of November 3, 1937, the conference was opened in the Brussels Academy Building. The Belgian Foreign Minister Spaak spoke the words of welcome, although the Belgian Cabinet was once again in crisis. China had summoned its ambassadors to Paris, London and Brussels and Chinese envoys to The Hague and Geneva. After Spaak's speech, the heads of the delegations recited their patter, first Norman Davis, then Eden, Delbos, Aldrovandi. The Italian made the most reasonable but unexpected suggestion that China and Japan should be invited to communicate directly with each other. Then the conference could go home. He added that he did not assume that they would agree to his proposal, but it corresponded to the cold reality. After that, they withdrew for the time being. On the second day, Chinese Ambassador Wellington Koo spoke, accusing Japan of violating the treaty. Litvinov spoke after him. Then the Portuguese also had his say. The result of the first negotiations was that a communication to Japan was decided upon, to be considered as a reply to Japan's communication of October 27. The Conference also offered its good offices for mediation in the Sino-

Japanese conflict. Since it seemed too strange without Japan's participation in the conference, a new invitation to Japan was considered. But the official Japanese telegraph agency had already been informed that even this would not change Japan's negative attitude. Thus the conference was at an impasse. Japan was not invited again. The matter was given a new twist, with which Japan was to be summoned after all. On November 6, agreement was reached on a memorandum to Japan requesting it to assign one or more representatives to enter into an exchange of views with the representatives of a limited number of powers with the aim of settling the conflict. The Conference did not place great hopes on this new path. There was no hurry in Tokyo. It was said that a few days would probably be necessary to study and respond to the conference note. This was a cold shower for the gentlemen in Brussels who thought in a few days to solve the Far Eastern problem as they saw fit. No wonder if confusion and perplexity reigned in Brussels. One thought about what to start in the next days until the official answer from Tokyo arrived. Following the Geneva pattern, they once again fell back on the convenient solution of setting up a committee to keep a close eye on the situation in the Far East and to come forward later with a new mediation plan at an opportune moment. It was astonishing that a great power, which was engaged in a vital struggle for decision, should dare to treat its own interests in this way. Soviet Russia had no inclination to go along with this theater any longer. On the evening of November 9, Litvinov left for Moscow.

In Tokyo on November 12, the decision was made to reject the second invitation to Brussels as well, since the convening of the Brussels Conference had not changed the conditions. Foreign Minister Hirota followed this up with a very significant statement. According to this statement, the situation in the Far East had changed in the last 15 years to such an extent that the provisions of the Nine-Power Treaty were no longer applicable. Tokyo thus considered the treaty to have been superseded by developments, to be inapplicable, for instance in the sense of Article 19 of the League of Nations provisions. Finally, the final declaration that the changed situation in the Far East no longer permitted a collective solution was important. The normal situation would have to be restored by direct negotiations between Japan and China. This view on the part of Japan was entirely consistent with its attitude toward the League of Nations, whose membership had lapsed in March 1935. The countermove of the disappointed great powers consisted of secret backstage negotiations to prepare a plan to supply China with arms and munitions and to open credits in order to force Japan indirectly to abandon its China policy. An external reason suggested that the conference should be concluded soon. The Belgian king had for some time arranged a trip to England in which he was to be accompanied by Foreign Minister Spaak, who was the president of the Far East Conference.

China served the goal of a friendly settlement with Japan badly when its chief representative, Dr. Wellington Koo, demanded at the November 13 meeting that the conference adopt joint action by all the conference powers in the moral, material, and economic fields-against Japan, of course. It was a clear sign of the barrenness of such international conferences, in which small states are wont to participate, as it were, only for the sake of curiosity, when it became known that an Anglo-French-American draft declaration was to be considered. So once again it was the great powers who alone claimed the right to act on behalf of all participants. The minor powers then make their presence felt by proposing amendments which the major powers deem worthy of consideration in the highest case. On November 15, the new declaration was ready for discussion. It was again very comprehensive and made itself very strong by sharp wording. Its purpose was defeated from the outset, since, in addition to the old used-up justifications, which were given in a schoolmasterly manner, a condemnation of Japan was again pronounced. Japan, it was said, had no right to resort to armed force to prevent the spread of certain political doctrines in another country. Should it really have been thought in Brussels that Japan could be dissuaded by such exhortations? It was not alone; indeed, it had an excellent second to its view in Italy at

the conference. Count Aldrovandi was again very ollen and told the conference that it was dealing with matters that did not fall within its purview at all. He was decidedly opposed to certain states claiming the right to apply their principles to the whole world and to impose their conception of the safeguarding of world peace as the only blessed one. Consequently, Italy voted against the declaration of the Big Three. But even the smaller ones seemed to be uneasy about the matter. The Nordic states of Sweden, Denmark and Norway coyly announced that they would abstain from voting because their interests in the Far East were not important enough. They could have said this to themselves before the conference began, indeed already when they became participants in the Nine-Näclitc Agreement, probably urged on by England. The influence exerted by the Chinese on the Nordic states shortly before the vote had thus been unsuccessful.

The conference now degenerated into a tragicomedy, it became more and more of a farce. At the last moment, the Chinese government tried to give it an effective shot in the arm to delay its imminent end. In the form of a $2-page memorandum, accompanied by detailed statistical material, the demand was made for economic sanctions against Japan. It was demonstrated that Japan's entire supply, especially of war materials, depended largely on foreign countries. Petroleum, steel, nickel, aluminum and manganese would have to be imported. Sixty-five percent of Japanese exports would be absorbed by America, England, China, Holland, and France. A boycott of Japanese goods would deprive Japan of a large part of the foreign exchange it urgently needed to make purchases abroad. At the end was the demand that China be supported with bonds in its struggle against Japan. The conference took note of the Chinese demands and put them on file.

The American delegation did not want to go home completely empty-handed. As a result, Norman Davis made a special effort to put together the draft for the final resolution. Washington was very cautious and wanted to wait for the outcome of Brussels and what the League of Nations would do with it before considering further steps. Officially, sanctions against Japan were to be refrained from until then, but no obstacle was placed in the way of private bodies if they carried out the boycott against Japan on their own initiative.

Thus approached November 15, when the Conference unanimously adopted the formulated resolution against Italy's no vote and with the abstention of the three Nordic states. In short, Japan was again condemned for its actions in China and accused of breaking its treaty obligations. Count Aldrovandi expressed that the resolution would entail very serious complications. But when Foreign Minister Spaak, as Conference President, asked whether the resolution should be sent to Japan, he was met by a unanimous "No. So the Japanese government had to rely only on what it could read about it in the press. November 15 was a Monday.

Now the conference adjourned for a full eight days until the 22nd so that delegates could consult with their governments before the official closing.

In keeping with the course of the Brussels negotiations, the week left without a session was used to give the conference a first-class funeral. One humorous delegate said that a pot was being brewed that contained only vegetables but no meat. No real action could be taken. Dr. Wellington Koo was told bluntly that his country could not be helped. Not a single delegate had seriously considered China's demand for sanctions. All at once the French delegation acted disinterestedly because it had met with disapproval from America when France wanted a guarantee from the latter for Indochina in case Japan should advance there to cut off the supply of arms to Chiang Kai-shek. Briton Anthony Eden also seemed to have run out of fun in Brussels. He did not reappear, but had the Secretary of State for the Dominions, MacDonald, help prepare the funeral. Eden's doctor was supposed to have advised him against returning to Brussels in view of the attack of influenza he had just recovered from. The Americans were worried that they would be blamed for the failure of the conference. They were

anxious to avoid "having the baby laid at their door." In American senatorial circles, there was particular dissatisfaction with the way things were going in Brussels. After all, they had not placed great hopes in the conference, but now it became apparent that the culmination of failures to keep the peace in the Far East had been reached.
But not on the 22nd, not even on the 23rd November 108
it came to the final session. Only the 24th saw the end of this ridiculous conference, which will always remain an example of abused and ineffectual collectivism. Perhaps this collectivism breathed its last with Brussels. The "Declaration" adopted at the end contained exactly a dozen articles. The main points were: 1. the conference calls upon Japan and China to cease hostilities in the Far East and to resort to peaceful measures; 2. a "temporary interruption" of hostilities in the Far East. 2. a "temporary adjournment" of the Conference was deemed necessary to enable the participating powers to exchange views on how, on the basis of the principles of the Nine-Power Treaty, the dispute might be settled; and 3. since the Far Eastern conflict concerned all the powers participating in the Conference (the Nordic states had been of the opposite view as late as November 15), it was left to the Belgian Foreign Minister to reconvene the Conference if the discussions could be resumed with any prospect of success. With this formulation, the conference itself made the shameful admission that it had achieved nothing. This admission was indicated by eighteen states voting in favor of the declaration, while Italy alone voted against it. Count Aldrovandi made a clear statement to this effect: "I am voting against the Declaration because Fascist Italy, which I have the honor to represent here, has from the beginning considered this Conference completely superfluous and can see no reason to change this view. Personally, I am glad that the conference is adjourned, and I feverishly hope that this may turn out for the best." Surprise was brought to the conference hall at the last minute by the Chinese chief delegate. He was the last to vote for the declaration, although only two days ago he had claimed that the Chinese would vote against it in toto. An order from Chungking had brought about this change. The Americans had already had cabin seats reserved on the steamer "Washington" for December'2. The British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain would have liked to see Norman Davis for a chat in London. The latter, however, refused. Was he ashamed? In any case, he declared that he did not want to pay any official visits before his I icim trip. In Washington government circles, opinions were divided. In many cases, it was felt that after the failure in Brussels, the time was already past - at least temporarily - to mobilize the world against the aggressor according to Roosevelt's Chicago prescription. The isolationists had received a new boost. Roosevelt himself, in the usual press conference on Brussels, took a stand and declared his intention to continue his earnest peace efforts. He gave not the slightest indication, however, of how he thought it would be carried out. From the Japanese side there was nothing to be said about Brussels. By staying away from the conference, Tokyo had spoken clearly enough. Prime Minister Prince Konoye, who has always distinguished himself by his taciturnity, exceptionally, on a trip to the holy sites of Ise, granted a press interview indirectly aimed at Brussels. In the course of the conversation with the pressmen, he came to speak of the Nine-Power Treaty and said that Japan would, at the appropriate time, request either the review or the abrogation of the treaty. Japan should have taken this step a few years ago when it expressed the view that the resolution of the conflict with China should be without Western intervention. By this he meant the very clear statement made on April 17, 1934, to the
Foreign Office spokesman Amau, in which Japan forbade any foreign interference in Far Eastern affairs. As a typical example of a barren conference, the Brussels one has been treated here in more detail. It shows the glaring contrast between the method of collectivism and the new time, which had given birth to states, which do not let their national way, their historical life line be obstructed by the gossip of partly quite uninterested states, but then by those, who think that they are still the masters of the world. After Japan had already been insulted beyond measure by the League of Nations in Geneva in 1933, it

could only occur to deluded fools to summon it once again before a similar forum and to give it a new bashing. Three weeks had been spent in fruitless talk. For America, the Brussels failure meant an enormous loss of prestige. China was still clutching at the straw of the League of Nations and international cooperation. It took a while before it, too, ran out of patience.

VIII. NORTH AND CENTRAL CHINA

The Japanese High Command, i.e. the Imperial Headquarters, since there was not yet a unified high command, must have been interested in bringing the two fronts in the north and south into connection. The conduct of the war would thereby be facilitated in various ways. Hitherto the two coronas had been separated by the province of Shantung to the north and, adjoining it to the south, by the coastal province of Kiangsu and its neighbor to the west, the province of Anhwei. The given was that the two fronts were converging, thus simultaneously pinning down the Chinese forces still gathered there. To this end, the Japanese had already gone north across the Yangtze River at Nanking the day before the Chinese conquered Nanking, on December 12, 1937, and had occupied the town of Pukau, which is the southern terminus of the Tientsin-Pukau railroad. The Ya- mata and Nagano divisions had carried out the operation.

The fall of Nanking had in no way broken the will of the Chinese to resist. This was expressed in a statement by Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, which said: "The retreat from Nanking has no effect on the government's policy regarding resistance to the Japanese advance, but rather confirms the nation's desire to continue fighting. Since the government moved its seat, Nanking has no political or military significance. For this reason

I ordered the withdrawal of the Chinese troops to another line, in accordance with my plan to fall back wherever the superiority of the enemy's equipment would claim unnecessary casualties." The next rearward position of the Chinese was placed in the line-from their right wing to their left wing-Hwei-chow-Tsingteh-Ningkwoo-Tungling (20 kilometers southwest of Wuhu on the Yangtze)-Lüchow. In the course of the Yangtze River, power barrages were laid as far as Kiukiang. General Ten Pin arrived in Hankau, representing Outer Mongolia, which was to be considered part of the Soviet Union, and offered Chiang Kai-shek his support in agreement with Moscow. There was little to be expected from this assistance. Chiang Kai-shek moved his headquarters to Nanchang, about 40 kilometers south of Kiukiang on the Chekiang Railway, which runs from Kiukiang through Nanchang to Hang- chow southwest of Shanghai. The Japanese widened their front, which had been pushed north across the Yangtze River, eastward to Yangchow. Again, the railroad line served as the main advance route. The Japanese aimed first for the town of Pengpu, further north for Sukhov, and finally for Hsuechowfu, the junction of the Tientsin-Pukau and Lunghai railroads, where the two fronts were to join hands.

The dimensions that the undeclared war had already assumed at that time can be explained by the loss figures that Marshal Chiang Kai-shek gave for the Chinese side in a radio address to the Chinese people with over 300,000. The loss of civilian lives and property could not even be estimated. "Such tremendous sacrifice in resisting an external attack is unprecedented in China's history," he added. Nevertheless, he hoped for the final victory when the Japani-

forces were exhausted. Thus he proclaimed the war of exhaustion. The tactic of "scorched earth" was to continue to support this plan. Sic was first applied with particular thoroughness at Tsingtao, where in December 1937 the Japanese cotton mills there went up in flames in anticipation of a Japanese landing and the machinery was completely destroyed by the devastating fire. Chinese left the city by the thousands, mostly for Tsinanfu. The Chinese government was more sharply consolidated by abolishing the Central Political Council. Another general was executed, General Tsai Chin-chun, for errors in the

defense of Nantao, the southern district of Shanghai, which resulted in considerable war material falling into the hands of the Japanese as booty.

But Japanese landing maneuvers were expected not only at Tsingtao, but also in southern China near Hong Kong after stronger Japanese naval forces cruised at sea. The British placed Hong Kong and Kaulun in a state of defense. The area filled up more and more with Chinese refugees from Canton each day. After a prolonged lull, Japanese detachments set out from Shanghai for the port town of Hangchow on the bay of the same name.

In order to more sharply group the resistance against the coming Japanese attacks, the Chinese government issued an order on the new front division, which was divided into five districts, where in each district one and the same personality would be responsible for both political and military administration. 1st district: Shantung and the north of Kiangsu, 2nd district: the south of Hopei and Honan, 3rd district: Shansi and Schensi, 4th district: Anhwei, south Kiangsu and Che- kiang and 5th district: Hunan and Kiangsi.

Chinese resistance in Shansi Province stiffened, especially among the Chinese 8th Army-the formerly Communist-led by Chou En-lai. The deployment and distribution of Japanese forces was indicated as follows: two Japanese divisions on the Tatung-Tai- yüan railroad, one division in Kalgan County, half a division east of Taiyüan on the railroad (so-called Chengteh Railway), one division at Paotingfu, and 3% divisions in Hopei and Shan- tung provinces. 150,000 Japanese were to be in Manchuria. In total, the Japanese forces on the mainland were estimated at 600000 men.

On December 27, the Japanese were in possession of Hangchow and immediately advanced further west and southwest. The blockade declared against Chinese merchant shipping was also extended to Tsingtao, so that the entire Chinese coastal area was now declared a blockade zone. The Japanese troops operating from the north on the Shantung Province also began to advance at the end of December, crossing the Hoangho River with their left wing at Tsingcheng, about 70 kilometers northeast of Tsinanfu toward Chowtsun on the Shantung Railway. Large fires along the lines of Tsingtao broke out at Tsinanfu, again set up by the Chinese in anticipation of a Japanese attack. In fact, on December 25, the Akashiba and Fukuye divisions sdirited to attack Tsinanfu, which they entered the next day. Again, further movements took place along the two available rail lines, eastward along the Shantung Railway, where the Chinese initially still held Weihsien and Kaomi as well as Tsingtao, and southward along the Tientsin-Pukau Railway. The Japanese hoped to cut off considerable Chinese forces inSchan- tung. They were to experience disappointment in this case as well. Events were approaching the sacred mountain of Taishan, where the decisive battle was to be fought. After the capture of Weihsien, the Japanese were already swinging southward from the Shantung Railway. On the other hand, the Japanese advance on the Yangtze River was halted for the time being.

At the beginning of 1938, Germany for the second time made its ambassador available to transmit Japanese peace proposals to the Chinese government. The conditions put forward were not significantly different from those transmitted in December 1937, but met the same fate as those. Chiang Kai-shek again flatly refused. After orderly conditions had been established in Nanking, the Japanese saw fit to raise a similar governing body in Nanking by Chinese sympathetic to them, following the pattern of the provisional government in Peking. On the day of the announcement of this new government formation, Chinese planes appeared for the first time over Nanking and unloaded their bombs there. On the other hand, Japanese planes appeared for the first time over Canton on January 3 and bombed especially the northbound railroad line connecting Canton with Hankau. Japanese air raids on Hankau followed. In Shantung, the Japanese captured the town of Küfow, where Confucius was born. The Confucius Temple there was placed under special guard.

The two Japanese army groups, from the north along the Tientsin-Pukau railroad, from the south along the same railroad, had Hsüchowfu as their common target point. There the unification was to take place. The Chinese wanted to delay this operation as long as possible and had built up a strong defensive position around I Isii- chowfu. From the north, advance detachments quickly occupied Küfow and Yenchow on January 3. Two days later the Japanese were in front of the first Chinese positions at Tsining, which lies on a southwest-branching headrace of the Tientsin-Pukau Railway. When the Japanese moved into Küfow, they found that the 77th descendant of Confucius, Duke Kung The-cheng, had disappeared with his wife. It was claimed that Chiang Kai-shek had kidnapped him by force and taken him to Hankau. It was also said that in August 1937 a Japanese delegation appeared at his house and offered him the imperial throne of China. The duke - he is allowed to use this title even in republican China - refused, saying that he was too young and that the plan would interfere with his classical upbringing. His family, from Confucius on, had never sought worldly power.

A war council had taken place in Hankau during these days, in which it was decided to switch from the defensive to the offensive. Whether this plan was practically feasible after the previous defeats must have seemed doubtful. In any case, the position at Hsüchowfu was to be vigorously defended. The South Chinese general Li Tsung-jen, who was regarded as a skilful army commander and had distinguished himself in the battles for Shanghai, was in command. The Chinese had gathered about 150,000 men, including three battle-hardened divisions from Kwangsi. They also included the Shantung troops who had withdrawn from Tsingtao and the divisions that had retreated from Tsinanfu before the Japanese. The Japanese were
estimated at 70000 men. They drew on all available forces for what they thought would be a decisive battle. Shanghai was almost completely denuded of Japanese troops. Although the Japanese attacking columns were not in a contiguous front, it can be said that at that time they had spread over a front their 350000 men, which was longer than all the German fronts in the World War put together. On January 10, the Japanese began their long-awaited landing at Tsing- tao. There, on German initiative, a police force of order had been formed after the Chinese police organs had departed. Thus, the city of Tsingtao could be handed over to the invading Japanese in a fairly orderly condition. The landing was under the command of Admiral Toyada. The Japanese flag went up on all official buildings.

On January 11, a rare event took place in Tokyo, an imperial conference chaired personally by the emperor and attended also by the prime minister, the foreign minister, the ministers of the interior and navy, the ministers of war and finance, and the chiefs of the general staffs of the army and navy and other high personalities. It was the fourth such conference in Japan's history. The first was held during the war against China, the second during the war against Russia, and the third in 1914 before the declaration of war on Germany. The conference was preceded by a cabinet meeting that lasted almost 48 hours. It had to be considered a highly political event. Prince Konoye reported on the situation and explained the government's proposals, which were aimed at eliminating the anti-Japanese Chinese central government by all means. The proposals, which were supplemented by military input, met with the emperor's approval. The widely expected declaration of war by Japan against China was not adopted.

Meanwhile, military operations continued. The Japanese succeeded in capturing the key Chinese position at Tsining in the north. This provided the opportunity to attack the Chinese position at Hsüchowfu from the rear. Consequently, after this success, the advance was made toward the Lunghai Railway. In the direction of Tsingtao, the railroad station of Weihsien was occupied. After all, the Japanese northern and southern columns were 160 kilometers apart and were increasingly facing stubborn Chinese resistance. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek put himself in an airplane and, accompanied by six other planes, undertook an inspection of the front. As a result, reorganization took place both on the

Shansi front and in Shantung. General Li Chung- yen was appointed commander-in-chief on the Shantung front, and General Yi Siao-chung was appointed military governor of Shantung Province. The civil administration was entrusted to Admiral Chen Hung-lei. Incompetent officers were to be relieved of their command immediately.

Now the back-and-forth fighting began, which lasted until May 1938. First, the Chinese managed to retake Tsining in a strong counterattack. The Emperor's Canal running east of it was included in the operations. The Chinese had crossed its frozen waters and flanked the Japanese. Shortly thereafter, the Japanese counterattacked and threw the Chinese back out of Tsining.

The Japanese government decided after all to publish the decisions of the Imperial Conference in the form of a manifesto and handed it over to the diplomatic representatives of the foreign powers with explanations by Foreign Minister Arita. The most important point was that Japan refused to recognize Chiang Kai-shek. On the other hand, a new Chinese government, with which a real stable work could be made possible, should be supported. The manifesto concluded with the words: "Japan's responsibility for the peace of East Asia is heavier now than ever. It is the hot wish of the Government that the Japanese people devote themselves with even greater effort to the fulfillment of these momentous tasks imposed upon the nation." Again Chiang Kai-shek had the punitive judgment carried out on two generals. One was General Li Tuo-chan, who was supposed to have failed west of Shanghai at Soochow; the other was General Wan Fu-lin, formerly governor of a Manchurian province, who was charged with the loss of Pao- tingfu. If the Japanese manifesto did not constitute a declaration of war by Japan against China, diplomatic relations were broken off with the withdrawal of the ambassadors from both sides. Ambassador Kawagoe left his seat in Shanghai, Ambassador Hsu Shih-ying received his passports in Tokyo on the same day.

The Chinese, believing that a relief offensive on their right wing south of the Yangtze would improve their position, attacked Wuhu on the Yangtze and Hangchow on the bay of the same name with stronger forces. In fact, the Japanese had their positions there thinly manned. Only after bringing in reinforcements were they able to repel the attacking Chinese. As before in the north of the main battle front, fierce fighting was now developing in the south, with the issue being whether the Japanese could gain possession of the important Chinese position at the town of Pengpu. In the northern part, a stalemate had occurred toward the end of January because the Japanese wanted to wait for further reinforcements.

The headquarters of the Japanese Northern Front, headed by Colonel General Terauchi, moved from Tientsin to Beijing on January 20, 1938. The general described it as his task to completely destroy the Kuomintang China Army. At the same time, he would promote the construction and consolidation of the coming new China, so as to improve the condition of the Chinese people and hasten the resurrection of Chinese culture.

Again, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's criminal court was set in motion. In Hankau, nine senior Chinese officers were shot for dereliction of duty. Among them were: the commander of an army corps, a brigadier general, two regimental commanders, a military judge and an intelligence officer. In addition, several senior officers were expelled from the army, including 13 division commanders.

The regular session of the Japanese Diet in January 1938 featured speeches by government officials, which naturally dealt primarily with the situation in China. Prime Minister Konoye described Japan's action as a mission it had to fulfill as the stabilizing power of East Asia. Foreign Minister Hirota announced the peace terms that had been conveyed to China but had received scant attention from it. They demanded: 1. abandonment of the pro-Communist policy directed against Japan and Manchukuo in favor of cooperation with Japan and Manchukuo in the spirit of the Anti-Comintern Pact; 2. establishment of demilitarized

sated zones in certain areas and at the same time a special regime in these areas; 3. conclusion of an economic agreement with Japan and Manchukuo; and 4. war compensation for Japan. Territorial cessions were therefore not demanded, even if point 2 had something similar in mind in a disguised form. That China did not want to respond to such proposals at that time was probably not surprising. Although the Chinese army had received heavy blows, it had not been destroyed and was still ready for action. Japanese War Minister Sugiyama alluded to this, adding that the Japanese army would carry out its assigned task with all its might. Peace was thus further away than ever.

It was no longer a blitzkrieg that Japan primarily conducted in Shantung. With great deliberation, the Chinese position at Hsüchowfu was overwhelmed. To support the attacks from the north and south, the city of Lienchüngchiang on the sea was occupied in the center, where the Lunghai Railway begins. The Chinese had already destroyed the port facilities a month ago to make it difficult for the Japanese to land. Now the attack on the Chinese "Maginot Line," as the positions at Hsüchowfu were called, could be mounted. General Matsui requested two more divisions in Tokyo, as Chinese resistance at Penpu was stiffening. In this context, Baron Soloda's accusation against England, which was continuously strengthening the Chinese resistance through war matrial deliveries, was of importance. England must finally refrain from provoking the Japanese people. This first sharp thrust against England in such a high body must be kept in mind with regard to later events. But it was only a small spark that had been kindled. It was to be some time before the conception of England's interference in Japan's East Asian policy became common knowledge among the Japanese people, especially among those circles who still mourned the alliance with England.

An interesting Chinese appointment occurred in Canton. There, the Chief of Staff of the 8th Army, the former Red, i.e. Communist Army, Ye Chin-yin, appeared on a plane to take command of the troops in the entire Canton district. One thinks of December 1927, where, as mentioned, a terrible slaughter of all Red or Pink Russians and Chinese began after Chiang Kai-shek parted company with his Moscow advisors. Ten years later, the situation had completely reversed again. A Communist chieftain was able to take command in Canton with China's consent. After the provisional government was created in Beijing, the Autonomous Anti-Communist Government of Eastern Hopei no longer had a right to exist. This strange entity, which had built golden breaches for smuggling, was absorbed into the Beijing Provisional Government. Tightening the blockade of the Chinese coast, the Japanese moved to occupy the port city of Chifu in North Shantung in early February 1938. Since the distance from Chifu to the Japanese wartime port of Port Arthur (Ryoyun) is only 3 5 kilometers, the occupation by Japanese naval forces could be accomplished without much difficulty, the more so since no major resistance was offered by the Chinese side. Fierce fighting on the southern front in Shantung brought the Japanese the desired success on February 2: Pengpu and with it the bridge over the Hwaiho fell into their hands. The left wing simultaneously took Tingyüan, southwest of Pengpu. The Tashiro and Kurobayashi divisions had distinguished themselves. In contrast, the right wing made slow progress at Linhwaikwan.

The League of Nations made its voice heard from the background. Once again a resolution was drafted which concluded with the following pathetic words: "The Council appeals with confidence to those of its members for whom the situation in the Far East is of special interest, that they let no opportunity pass of examining, after consultation with other interested powers, what means are available for arriving at a workable settlement of the conflict."

To secure the Japanese position at Chifu, Oki Division was marched from Tsingtao and occupied the town from the land side, disarming a police force of 800 men left behind by the Chinese. On the way from Tsingtao to Chifu, the towns of Tsimo, Laiyang and Fushan were cleared of scattered Chinese troops. In Tokyo, meanwhile, the new budget was being discussed, which was, understandably, in a

state of steady increase. The ordinary budget for 1938/39 closed with 2.86 billion. To this was added 5 billion for China, making a total of 7.8 billion. The levying of new taxes could not be avoided.

In the early days of February 1938, interest was temporarily diverted from the fighting in Shan- tung and turned to new events in southern China, where a Japanese attack on Canton was expected. The Japanese hoped to gain control of the city through an internal upheaval in the city caused by elements friendly to them. On the morning of February 4, five Japanese warships, coming from Hong Kong, sailed toward the mouth of the Pearl River. The < '.hi nese then blocked the river's flow, blocking one American and four British gunboats. When the Japanese warships came within range of the Bocca Tigris forts, fire was opened from both sides, and Japanese bombers attacked Canton from the air. In fact, riots broke out in Canton, and a state of siege was imposed. The very next day the haunting was over. Chiang Kai-shek's supporters retained the upper hand and arrested about a hundred people who had started the uprising. The river blockade was still maintained as a precaution. The Japanese made no new attempt of this kind.

The Chinese government, while determined to hold its strong position at Hankau as long as possible, made a new change in the seat of government in the February days, moving further inland from Hankau to Chungking, up the Yangtze, because the remote but very rich province of Szechwan seemed safer. With this move, the question of how China could manage to obtain war materials from outside became acute. One way was from Indochina and the other from British Burma. In the latter case, preparations had already been made. Thousands of coolies were employed and built in a relatively short time an overland road from Burma in northeastern direction only with their hands work without using modern road machines. However, the road in its first construction was not durable for the rainy season. In addition, a new railroad was built, since until then only a narrow-gauge railroad led from Haiphong in Indochina as the northernmost section of the Transindochina Railway to Yünnanfu or Kunming, the capital of Yünnan Province.

The third supply line was the "red road" from the northwest via Kansu Province.

America as a supplier of war material almost for the whole world supplied at that time still both fighting sides in East Asia. Thus, China received war planes worth 329600 dollars in January 1938, Japan also passenger planes worth 493 400 dollars.

In the southern section of Shantung, the Japanese had repeatedly run up against the Hwai River, but were initially unable to defeat it. It was not until February 12 that they succeeded in capturing the town of Linghaikwan. Immediately 3000 men were thrown onto the north bank, where they held their ground after a fierce hand grenade fight. Always hovering in the minds of the Japanese as the ultimate goal was the destruction of the enemy forces, and with it the thought of driving the Chinese into a great cauldron. The stubborn resistance of the Chinese at Hsüchowfu could bring these plans to maturity if the advance could be made along the Peking-Hankau Railway across the Hoangho and then pushed eastward into the rear of the Chinese lineup. In the spirit of this operation, the attack along the Peking-Hankau Railway was vigorously resumed. First, Tan- ying was reached. The further objective was the important crossing point of Chengchow, where the Peking-Hankau Railway intersects the Lunghai Railway. In the spirit of this annihilation idea, the Japanese also pushed the left wing of their South Shantung attack column out to the west toward Menscheng, in order to embarrass the Chinese retreat from the south as well. east of there, the Japanese were in very fierce fighting at Kuchen on the Tientsin-Pukau Railway.

The Chinese tried to make another vigorous resistance north of the Yellow River on the Peking-Hankau Railway, but were thrown out of the towns of Weihwan and Sinsiang, with the detachment of the former military attaché in Berlin, General Banzai, again excelling. The Chinese, however, were already preparing their retreat by removing the rails of the railroad and blowing up the bridge over the

Yellow River. Several arches sank into the floodwaters of the river. At Yanwu, the Japanese were only a few kilometers from the north bank of the river. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek probably recognized the threat that was about to strike the Hsüchowfu position in the rear. As a result, he threw available reserves in considerable strength to the Lunghai Railway. On the Japanese side, the recall of the commander-in-chief of the Shanghai Front, the victor of Shanghai and Nanking, Colonel General Matsui, in the midst of the developing major fighting on February 18, 1938, was conspicuous. Matsui was succeeded by General Shunroku Hata, later Minister of War, who had been Commander-in-Chief in Korea. Before his appointment as commander-in-chief, he had been chief of military education.
The extreme right wing of the Japanese northern front in Shansi Province also pressed southward, using the Tang-Ho Railway for further advance, while side columns to the west and east accompanied the advance. On February 17, two columns that had advanced on the Peking-Han- kau Railway arrived on the north bank of the Yellow River, one opposite Chengchow, the other column opposite Kaifeng. The Chinese had abandoned resistance more quickly than expected, allowing the Japanese to advance rapidly to the river. Since the river was frozen, the crossing did not seem to be a major headache for the Japanese.
In Tokyo, the Reichstag dealt with the question of the cost of the war in February 1938. The government was forced to submit a supplementary war budget, which was intended only for expenditures for the armed forces. It amounted to 4.850 billion yen, of which 3.250 billion went to the Army, 1.050 billion to the Navy, and 550 million to the Air Force, which, however, was not yet an independent Wehrmachttcil. There was no difficulty in raising these large sums by borrowing. 4.4 billion were to be raised in this way, the rest by tax increases and revenues from the state railroad and the tobacco monopoly. By the end of 1937, the war had cost 2.540 billion yen. Criticisms ceased in the press because there was a general feeling in Japan that it was now necessary to persevere, whatever the cost. In those days, the eyes of officials in Japan were turned to Germany, where the Führer, in his February 20 RiÄstag speech, had stressed Japan's importance as an element of security against anti-state activities, and from his words it was clear that Germany was leaving it to Japan to establish order in China. Thus were expressed views which were not to mature until two years later. The Führer had referred to the imminent recognition of Manchukuo by Germany, which was received with particular satisfaction in Tokyo after Italy and Spain had already pronounced recognition.
The Army Office of the Japanese Imperial Headquarters was able to announce on February 19 that the rapid advance along the Peking-Hankau Railway had resulted in the attainment of the north bank of the Hoangho with all the columns deployed there. To the west of it, too, divisions continued to advance along the Shansi Railway, but hung back against the front just mentioned. The front had the hardest time in
Nbrdjantung, where the Chinese at Tsining repeatedly went on the offensive. A summation showed that the Japanese troops occupied an area of 669000 square kilometers in northern China, to which were added 60 000 square kilometers in central China. However, the occupation was by no means a total one, since everywhere freebooters pushed far into the Japanese stage. Casualties could only be estimated: for the Chinese so far 300000 dead and 500000 wounded, for the Japanese jooco and 200000 respectively. The Ja- fian War Ministry gave the figure of 25 000 for the fallen.
As an immediate consequence of the war, a development became apparent in Japan that drove the constitutional state of the former Prussian pattern more and more into the tracks of an authoritarian state. The military had always pressed for the country's resources to be harnessed even more than before to the larger goal. The government had yielded to this demand, and in this way the "National General Mobilization Law" had come into being, against which the liberalist parties immediately ran up a storm. The law gave the government broad powers to carry out the mobilization of all the military, economic

and spiritual forces of the country without consulting the parties when its provisions were applied. It was an exceptional law, intended only for wartime. The parties probably feared that it might remain in force in peacetime and declared it unconstitutional. War Minister Sugiyama took the floor in the Diet on behalf of Prime Minister Konoye, who was ill, and explained that Japan had to reckon not only with the China conflict but perhaps with events of greater significance. The gathering of all the country's economic forces

9 Mossdorf, East Asia without simultaneous mustering of the other popular forces was not enough. The army had to insist on the law. The government achieved its goal, but reserved the right to apply the individual measures that the law gave it on a case-by-case basis. In Manchukuo, such a mobilization law was introduced at the same time.

The people gave General Matsui an enthusiastic reception when he arrived in Tokyo. The emperor invited him to the table, so that it cannot be said that the general was out of favor. Perhaps a factor was that he had already been discharged when he was assigned to command at Shanghai. One wanted to see active younger generals at the top for the coming events. On the other hand, this reasoning does not fit with the fact that other deserving senior officers were recalled along with Matsui, such as Prince Yasuhiko Asaka, who was a direct uncle of the emperor and had led the victorious troops at Nanking. He had entered Nanking alongside Matsui. General Hei- suke Yanagawa was also bid farewell. He had led the troops in the landing at Hangchow Bay, hastening the fall of Shanghai. Lieutenant Colonel Hashimoto, who belonged to the reserve officer corps and was politically considered a supporter of radical nationalist circles, also had to go. The same could be said of the others. The fact that the generals were blamed for both the incident with America after the sinking of the gunboat "Panay" and, shortly thereafter, the shelling of the British gunboat "Bird" off Nanking during the fighting, perhaps had an incriminating effect. It was known from Matsui that, in his opinion, respect for foreigners and their property had to be subordinated to the requirements of warfare.

The battle for the Lunghai Railway had now lasted two months. As the Shansi wing succeeded in gaining forward ground with the capture of Lingshi, the Hankau column experienced increased protection on the right flank and could first prepare to attack with artillery fire across the Yellow River at the Chinese positions south of it. Twenty Chinese divisions were to hold the section in strong positions. In southern China, the Chinese also made preparations against an expected Japanese attack. Fortifications were laid out in front of Canton. Bunkers were built in the city itself. In Shansi, movement had again come to the Japanese front. Linfen was occupied on i. March, lying 200 kilometers south of Taiyüan and 120 kilometers north of the southern border of Shansi. There the provincial government which had fled Taiyüan had taken up residence and so had the commander-in-chief of the Chinese on that front. Motorized Japanese detachments were thrown forward to the Hoangho to prevent the retreating Chinese detachments from crossing into Shensi Province. On the Tientsin-Pukau Railway, the ring around Hsüchowfu could be tightened from the north after the Chinese had ceased their attacks on Tsining and cut back in a southwesterly direction. In eastern Shantung, Chinese divisions left behind continued to work against the Japanese lines of communication. On the Hankau Railway, 100 determined Japanese had succeeded in crossing the Hoangho north of Loyang. This daring coup ended with all of them being killed or perishing in the floods. That the Chinese had by no means already completely abandoned the north bank of the Hoangho was evident from a surprise attack they launched northwest of Kaifeng, regaining the Japanese the towns of Weihwei and Sinsiang.

took off. The governor and commander-in-chief of Shansi had escaped to Shensi via the Hoangho. It was the "model governor," as he used to be called, General Yen Shi-shan. In northern Shansi, parts of the 8th Chinese Army were still operating in the rear of the Japanese. The situation improved somewhat when the Japanese occupied the town of Hokü on the Hoangho, where the Great Wall approaches the

stream! iihrt. In the southwest of the province, in the bend of the Hoangho, rapid Japanese troops advanced as far as Puchow and, on the north bank of the river, reached the area north of Tungwan, which lies on the south bank on the Lunghai Railway. But this was only a boldly advanced tip. The whole province was still swarming with Chinese detachments and irregulars left behind. On the Yellow River, the Japanese concentrated their artillery fire on the Kungshien area, south of the stream, to make a surprise attempt at the crossing northeast of it on March 9 and reportedly succeeded. Szesui was taken by storm. The Chinese denied Japanese success. In fact, the Japanese had to retract their somewhat premature report.

The north of the coastal province of Kiangsu, north of the Yangtze River, was a completely unprotected area. The Japanese therefore placed a division across the river at Tungchow (Nantung) and continued to advance toward Tungtai. On the Tientsin- Pukau railroad, the Japanese captured the important and rampart-protected town of Tengshien in southern Chantung on March 17, forcing 40000 Chinese to retreat. On this front north of Hsüchowfu, the Japanese and Chinese were now separated only by the Imperial Channel. After the capture of Hanchwan, the Japanese were only 30 kilometers north of their objective, Hsüchowfu, on March 20. They had thus reached the southern border of Shantung. South of Nagchwan, the Chinese blew up the bridge over the Imperial Canal. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek was said to have appeared at the front to assume supreme command of all fronts. His headquarters were in Chengchow on the Lunghai Railway.

IX. THE GREAT BATTLE ON THE YELLOW RIVER

The events on the fronts had created such a clear situation towards linde March 1938 that the further events can be called the "Great Battle of the Yellow River". The Chinese front stretched from Tungwan in the west through the old imperial city of Loyang and Kaifeng to Haichow in the east over a width of 750 kilometers. It was not a Maginot line, such as France had initially built in a line on its eastern and northeastern frontiers in the first expansion, but a fortification system in the manner of the improved Daladier line with great depth echelon and many built-in works. Mainly the artillery had the say, with which the Japanese were far better equipped than the Chinese. Kaifeng was under continuous fire from the Japanese. Chengchow, to the west of it, was already completely shot up. Most of the inhabitants had fled. The Japanese attack front from the south had come to a complete standstill. An impact from the east in the direction of Haichow was hardly noticeable and was hardly felt later on.

The establishment of a Chinese-led government in Nanking, which had been pursued by the Japanese for a long time, had so far failed due to the resistance of the already existing Provisional Government in Beijing, because Beijing claimed for itself the right to be set over all of China. The Japanese did not want that. What else could the Chinese do? They had to give in. On Monday, March 28, the second Chinese government was formed in the occupied territory. It, too, again adopted the old five-striped republican flag. Its seat was Nanking. The territory under its control included the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang and Anhwei, in so far as the Japanese were already masters there, as well as the territory of Greater Shanghai. This new foundation also had only a provisional character. There was no party rule. The government was to be run on a democratic-constitutional basis. There were only three government offices: for administration, legislation and jurisdiction. What are otherwise understood to be ministries were subordinate to the administrative office. This government had no president of its own, any more than the one in Beijing. The chairman was Liang Hung-chih, the head of the administration department. The other two offices were under Weng Tsung-yao and Chang Chi-chao, respectively. The Foreign Affairs Department was headed by Chen Lu, who had earlier (1920) been envoy to Paris. International agreements of previous governments were not recognized. In Inner Mongolia, Prince Yun,

the first president of the Japanese-backed autonomous government of Mongolia, died in those days. He was succeeded by the previous vice-president, Prince Teh Wang.
The Japanese-American incident over the sinking of the gunboat "Panay" was finally settled when Japan agreed to pay the requested compensation sum of 2214007.30 dollars at the end of March 1938.
The Japanese plan to unite the two groups operating toward each other in Shantung received a severe setback on March 24, when the Chinese advanced with force north of Hsüchowfu toward Tsining and occupied the towns of Tsaodiwang and Lincheng. The Japanese reportedly lost 34 officers and five armored cars, as well as 40 machine guns and two field guns. The left wing of the Chinese attack was striving toward Tsi- ning and dangerously flanked the Japanese. The Chinese commander-in-chief drafted to Chiang Kai-shek: "The Japanese forces are completely defeated. Our troops are proceeding eye-blinklidi on all fronts." Chiang Kai-shek could then return to Hankau satisfied. As usual, however, the Chinese success did not last, although it had penetrated as far as Tsining. With reinforcements, the Japanese drove the Chinese front back to its initial position a few days later. And now, for the first time, the name of a place that would be hotly contested for weeks to come appeared in the front reports: Taierhchwang, northeast of Hsüchowfu. From Tientsin, two new Japanese divisions arrived on the battlefield. On March 26, Chiang Kai-shek had narrowly escaped death by plane during a front-line visit. His plane was accompanied by 17 fighter planes, which got into a dogfight with Japanese aviators. The latter shot down two of the Chinese planes, but lost four apparatuses themselves. Chiang Kai-shek landed unharmed at Hsüchowfu.
On April 3, the Japanese made the first advance on Taierhchwang, which lies at the terminus of the lateral line leading southeast from the Tientsin-Pukow Railway. At the same time, the Japanese crossed the southern border of Shantung there and entered Kiangsu. Hsüchowfu was attacked from the west, north and south.
On the Chinese side, General Tan An-po, who had defended the Nankau Pass northwest of Beijing at the beginning of the war, led the way. He was opposed by
General Itagaki stood above with 30,000 men. Two Chinese generals, Tan Gen-po and Kwan Ling-cheng, are said to have signed a document before the start of the battle saying that they should be executed if they did not succeed in destroying the Japanese. The situation for the Japanese was difficult. T.iiei hchwang was almost surrounded. There were still 8000 Japanese in the city. They were completely finished off in the assault that the Chinese mounted with superior forces. The fierce battle lasted 24 hours, during which the Chinese claimed to have lost 7000 men, while they spoke of 20000 men lost on the Japanese side. The Chinese took 10000 rifles, 1931 machine guns, 77 heavy machine guns and 29 armored cars. After all, a large number of Japanese managed to make their way north. But that the Chinese should have reached Tsining and reoccupied the city was fantasy. Great victory celebrations with parades took place in Hankau. Chiang Kai-shek immediately dampened the jubilation when he said in a message to the people that now was no time to rejoice, the national crisis was still severe enough. After a conference with senior officers, the Japanese War Ministry issued a report on the situation, saying that the army operating in China was still far from its military goal and needed to step up its efforts to achieve victory. It also discussed the outside assistance given to China and instructed the Japanese ambassador in Moscow, Shigemitsu, to make representations to the Soviet government about its assistance given to China. The Japanese had as evidence a Russian plane that their air force had shot down. The Russian pilot had been taken prisoner and had admitted that he had previously been on active duty in the Soviet Air Fleet. Foreign Commissar Litvinov rejected the complaint, noting that there were many foreigners serving on China's side. Why did Japan not protest to the other powers as well? Cynically, he added, he did not understand why the Japanese government was taking this step when it always claimed that it was not in a state of war with China.

The Chinese were clear that they had not won a decisive victory. Nevertheless, the moral impact on the Chinese troops was great. The Chinese Minister of War, General Ho Ying-chin, wrote to the commander-in-chief in Shan- tung, General Li Tsung-jen, that the battle of Taierhchwang was the first decisive victory since the beginning of the defensive struggle. To this, General Li drahed back, "Your careful preparation and the loyalty and courage of all ranks brought about the victory."
The Japanese very soon drew in reinforcements and forced the Chinese to retreat slowly in a southerly direction. However, the Chinese offensive spirit was by no means exhausted. They continued to be successful at Ishien and Tsaochwang, as bringing up the new Japanese divisions took some time. In addition, the Tsinanfu railroad had been destroyed in several places in the wake of the fierce fighting. A division from Shanghai was transported by sea to Tsingtao and proceeded on foot to Chucheng and on to Ichow, which was wrested from the Chinese. Three more divisions, one also from Shanghai, the other from Manchukuo, the third from the Mongol Sui- yan front, went to the main front at Tsinanfu and from there south into the battle area. The second stage of the Battle of Hsüchowfu began. It was assumed that one million Chinese were facing 500000 Japanese. Hsuechowfu was already nicknamed "Verdun of the Sino-Japanese War". After the capture of Ichow, the reinforcements that were brought in were able to compete with the old Japanese front. It was probably not unreasonable to ask why the Japanese front approaching from the south had remained inactive during the last battles. Only now did it occur to them to take the offensive there as well. There was no joint supreme command for the two fronts, which could only be imperfectly replaced by the distant Imperial Headquarters.
The crisis was not yet over for the Japanese. The Chinese were able to book new successful advances for themselves. They pressed the Japanese east wing at Ichow considerably and advanced further north. At Taierhchwang the battle stood. The Japanese coming from the south approached Sukhov. Five new divisions departed from Japan for the battle front, because the Japanese wanted to achieve a quick success, since they were close to the flood period, when the Yangtze and the Hoangho tend to overflow their banks and submerge large stretches of land. Tokyo was not unaware of the difficult situation at the front. The situation was further darkened by the fact that on May 8 a firefight broke out at the Marco Polo Bridge, the same place from which the war had started. It was Communist Army irregulars under Chu Teh who had crept up to Beijing's gates, while only a small Japanese garrison remained in the city. South of Beijing, at Fengtai, these irregulars had also made their presence felt. Foreign Minister Hirota was not afraid to speak openly about the state of affairs. Japan would still have to make great sacrifices of men and financial resources. Hirota was already advocating close cooperation with Germany and Italy, not only in view of the war with China, but because of the general international situation. This view was inspired by the fact that relations with Soviet Russia were becoming increasingly strained. The occupation of Amoy in South China, not far from Canton, could be enforced by the Japanese after fierce Chinese resistance, thus preparing their further steps in South China.
The methodical Japanese attack on Hsüchowfu was gradually making progress. The city was surrounded on three sides and was under constant withering artillery fire from the Japanese. The Chinese had only inferior artillery forces to use. On May 14, the Chinese situation at Hsüchowfu became very precarious, as a sudden Japanese advance had pierced the Chinese front on the Lunghai Railway west of the city, eliminating the railroad for a Chinese retreat. On May 16, the situation became even more threatening after a motorized fast column advancing from the south reached the Lunghai Railway at three points west of Hsüchowfu. Siaohsien southwest of Hsüchowfu also fell into the hands of the Japanese. Finally, the two Japanese columns coming from the north and south joined hands in the rear of the Chinese position. However, the ring laid by the Japanese around Hsüchowfu was not completely closed, but had several gaps that could allow the Chinese to escape. Already the Chinese began to flow away to the west. It is said that 40 to 4$ Chinese divisions were encircled in the area of Hsüchowfu. Victory

celebrations were already being prepared in Japan. Japanese artillery was shelling Hsüchowfu from a distance of only one kilometer. The Chinese now offered the fiercest resistance to the southwest of the city at Yungcheng. This was understandable, since the main way out of the net around Hsüchowfu was located there. A situation similar to Napoleon's retreat after the Battle of Leipzig! And just like Napoleon, the Chinese commander-in-chief General Li managed to escape from the ring laid by the Japanese. The offensive thrusts, which the Chinese now also conducted north of the Lunghai Railway, were only to be seen as diversionary attempts; east of Kaileng, the Japanese once again cut through the Lunghai Railway.

So the 19th of May 1938 approached. It was a Thursday. At 8 a.m. the first Japanese divisions entered the western suburbs of Hsüchowfu. The assault divisions climbed over the completely shot-up city wall. Two Chinese airports lying there were immediately occupied by the Japanese and put into use.

General Terauchi, the Japanese commander-in-chief of the northern front, followed the progress of the fighting from an airplane. By 11 o'clock in the morning, the most important buildings in the city were in Japanese hands. Japanese flags were flying everywhere. From the east, Morosumi Division entered the city first. The Chinese army was in full flight to the southwest. Besides the victory, the unification of the two Japanese armies, Terauchi from the north, Hata from the south, was the significant event of the day. The ceremonial entry into Hsüchowfu took place at noon on May 20. In the lead marched the Morosumi and Watanabe divisions. The latter had carried out the assault in the west.

Immediately, the pursuit of the defeated enemy was initiated by the Japanese high command. The hilly terrain to the west of Hsüchowfu offered the Chinese, some of whom were flooding back without a leader, a favorable opportunity to hold off the Japanese in sections. In Tokyo one had hoped after the first reports of victory that 250,000 to 300,000 Chinese would be made prisoners in the 1 in circle. This hope did not come true. The Chinese, masters of retreat, had been able to move the bulk of their troops westward. Exact figures of Chinese casualties have not become known. The Japanese claim to have gathered from prisoner statements that there were at least 30 Chinese divisions around Hsüchowfu, 16 of which belonged to the Central Army, which was counted among the elite troops. The garrison of Hsüchowfu had amounted to 9000 men, 4000 of whom had fallen. Prince Kanin, Chief of the General Staff in Tokyo, congratulated Generals Terauchi and Hata on their victory, which he described as a success almost without precedent in the history of war.

The great battle of the Yellow River, which had lasted five months in all, was the greatest of the war and was to remain so in the future. Both opponents had accomplished feats that must be recognized. Japan's next military target was Hankau, the great city divided into three parts on the middle Yangtze River. But now, once again, the so-called democracies came forward. It must have been noticeable that they always made themselves felt when Japan had a new success to report. Of course, they wanted to be on Japan's side, since their democratic heart beat unilaterally for China, to which they gave all help, material and financial. Moreover, it had now become clear to them what Japan was aiming at. In the event of further victories, the spectre that their imperialist gains of earlier times might be taken away from them, in which case a good deal would be destroyed, loomed ever more clearly. It was always the American-invented "open door" policy that they had at heart. On May 20, notes were actually presented to Japan by America, England and France, wherein the maintenance of this policy was demanded. Above all, the reopening of the Yangtze and of international navigation on the river, at least on the Nanking-Shanghai route, was demanded. It was obvious that Japan could not respond to this demand, when the next operations were to be carried out precisely on this stretch of the river. There were also rumors that the democracies wanted to organize a fleet demonstration against Japan. They did not dare to do so. In Tokyo it was officially declared that the fall of Hsüchowfu did not end the hostilities. They would continue to advance toward Hankau until Chiang Kai-shek was defeated.

On the same day, the Chinese Air Force performed a bravura feat that has not been repeated. 27 bombers flew over the sea to the Japanese islands, overflying Honshiu, Kiushu, and parts of Hondo with Osaka. Bombs were not dropped. With this load, the long-distance flight probably could not have been carried out. On the other hand, leaflets rained down, saying: "You are in our hands! China is strong and invincible!"

On May 24, seven Japanese armies, numbering about 600,000 men, embarked on a large-scale advance on Hankau. Four armies that had participated in the victory at Hsüchowfu were brought forward in a broad front westward to take possession first of the Lunghai Railway, occupying the towns of Kweiteh and Kaifeng in the process. The Fifth Army, which was at Nanking, was to advance westward on the Hankau Railway. The Sixth Army, which had been fighting freebooters in the Shanghai-Hangchow-Nanking area, was to turn northwest toward the south bank of the Yangtze River, while the Seventh Army, formed from new formations, had been brought up on the Hankau Railway and had reached the north bank of the Yangtze River. This army had been ordered to hit the Chinese left flank in the advance on Hankau.

"While parts of the troops that had advanced northward from the Yangtze were still clearing the area of the enemy to the southeast of Hsüchowfu, a rapid advance from the north had succeeded east of the northeast-turning Hoangho and had led to the occupation of Lanfeng on the railroad east of Kaifeng. In those days, a reshuffle of the Konoye Cabinet took place in Tokyo that already showed traces of Japan's new national structure implemented two years later. The cabinet no longer included party ministers. Everything was to be directed toward a tight consolidation of all forces for the more determined execution of the China War. Foreign Minister Hirota resigned. His place was taken by General Ugaki, who had formerly been Governor General of Korea. He had also been proposed as prime minister in 1937, before Prince Konoye assumed that post, but was rejected by the army at the time. The mood of the military circles must have changed. General Itagaki, who commanded an army division on the northern front and had previously been chief of staff of the Kwantung Army, became Minister of War. He was considered a particularly capable officer. Importantly, General Araki, the former war minister, was appointed to the post of education minister. Araki was particularly nationalistic and focused on the education of youth. With Ikeda as finance minister came a very capable man.

10 Mossdorf, East Asia to head this important department. He was formerly general manager of the Mitsui Group and later president of the Bank of Japan. There was particular interest in Chinese government circles in the appointment of a general to the post of foreign minister. This clearly indicated that the war was going on. Since five important cabinet posts were filled by senior military and naval officers, the impression of a military dictatorship could be created.

Menghsien on the north bank of the Hoangho opposite Loyang, the old imperial city, fell into Japanese hands on May 24. The struggle for the western 'portion of the Lunghai Railway intensified, especially as the Chinese showed by offensive thrusts that they would not surrender the area to the Japanese without a fight. Nevertheless, Kweiteh fell on May 28. In return, the Japanese were driven out of Lanfeng again. The troops were under the command of General Doihara, the "Lawrence of Machuria," as he was commonly called. The Chinese defeat at Hsüchowfu had thus by no means destroyed the. The defeat of the Chinese at Hsüchowfu had by no means destroyed the fighting power of the Chinese. From the mass of reserves at their disposal, new formations had been thrown to the front.

This period saw the return of the German military advisory staff to the Chinese government. This advisory staff was not sent by the German government, but the individual officers had concluded private contracts with the Chinese government. The staff of advisors performed their service for years in devoted, devoted work and earned substantial merits for the development of the Chinese army. On the

one hand, it was necessary to establish units with modern training, which then had to serve as a model for the entire army.
knowledge. By the time the war with Japan broke out, much had been accomplished, but the reorganization was still very much in its infancy. It would have taken a number of years to make China a viable instrument of war. At the head of the advisory staff were German officers who had made a name for themselves in the World War. Colonel Bauer was the first. He died in Shanghai of an illness that has never been properly recognized. He was followed by Lieutenant Colonel Kriebel, later Consul General in Shanghai, then by General der Infanterie Wetzell, and after him by Colonel General von Seeckt, who was out for just over a year after leaving the German Reichswehr and fell seriously ill during that time. The last leader of the staff was General von Falkenhausen, who had been military attaché in Tokyo before the World War and knew Far Eastern conditions particularly well. Although the advisory staff was not concerned with China's active warfare against Japan, but only with the training of the Chinese troops, its position could not remain unaffected by the deepening of the political and friendly relations between Germany and Japan that resulted from the exclusion of the Anti-Chinese Pact. In addition, there was the support of the Chiang Kai-shek government by Soviet Russia and the Chinese communist armies. In view of this, the former German officers were asked by Germany to sever their contractual relations with China and return home. The officers complied with the appeal addressed to them. China regretted their departure, but did not put any obstacles in the way.
On May 31, Japanese Imperial Headquarters had completed its count of Chinese casualties at Hsüchowfu. The result was: at least
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240 ooo Chinese put out of action, 103,000 left dead on battlefield; captured: 96 guns, 270 heavy and 832 light machine guns, 17400 rifles, 86 locomotives, 2031 railroad cars, eight armored trains, 14 armored cars, 9250000 rounds of rifle ammunition and 44500 gun ammunition.
While the Japanese were busy on the Lunghai Railway in pursuit of the retreating Chinese to the west, seeking to relieve the enemy's pressure by partial counterattacks, the Japanese air squadrons were very active in southern China against Canton. On May 30, the third major attack by Japanese bombers took place. In Canton, Chang- chow and Fuchow, 4450 casualties were counted. A new stream of refugees poured from Canton to I longkong, where a million refugees had already gathered. Internment camps for the refugees were set up in Kaulun to bring some order to the chaos. The danger of outbreaking epidemics increased.
The large city of Kaifeng on the Lunghai Railway was the next target of attack by the Japanese, who were joined south of the railroad by a second column, lagging somewhat behind, advancing on Luyi. Chiang Kai-shek had assigned a particularly capable general, Ku Sung-nan, to the defense and had given him against 200000 men for his task. The Japanese believed that 148 divisions of 68 different army corps were massed in and around Kaifeng, plus a number of independent divisions. On June 22, the Japanese began their offensive against Kaifeng. Their right wing encountered parts of the 22nd, 46th, and 101st Chinese Divisions. On June 4, the Japanese were 12 kilometers from Kaifeng. On June 6, the invasion of the city was made from the north. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the commander-in-chief of the Japanese attacking divisions entered the city. The city was defended by the 141st, 142nd, and 34th Chinese Divisions. Immediately the pursuit was set westward and on June 7 Chungmow, halfway between Kaifeng and Chengchow, was occupied.
West of the Tientsin-Pukau Railway, which reaches the Yangtze at the latter place, a railroad line runs from the Yangtze opposite Wuhu in a northwesterly direction, the so-called Hwai- nan Line. It leads first to Lüchow (Hofei) and then turns northeast to Tingyüan, where it ends. Its connection with the Tientsin-Pukau Railway is still missing. From the Yangtze, a Japanese column had advanced along this

railroad on May 13, first occupying Chaosien, then Lüchow on May 14. On the Yangtze, Japanese naval forces simultaneously advanced upstream via Tungling toward Anking. Finally, of the forces involved in the Battle of Hsüchowfu, a column turned southwest toward Fengtai and occupied Chengyuankwan, held by Chinese Divisions 131 and 135, on 6 June. This established a continuous, though not gapless, front from Kaifeng, then bent somewhat backward to the Yangtze at Anking. The next attack objective was in front of the left wing: Hankau. In south-west Shansi, the Japanese had to endure partial battles with Chinese troops throughout, who still showed themselves east of the Hoangho and threatened the rearward communications, also interrupting the Shansi Railway several times. In northern Shansi, the formerly Communist, now 8th Army continued to be active and continually harassed the Japanese in the rear.

In Hankau, the evacuation of the town was already in full swing. The military hospitals were first evacuated of the wounded, furthermore the refugees streaming into the city were removed. The schools were closed. The remaining population of the three cities of Wuchang, Hankau and Hanyang was left free to leave the area.

So far, diplomatic relations between the belligerents had not been completely severed. Although the ambassadors had left, chargés d'affaires still functioned. This last link was severed by the Chinese in early June, when the Chinese chargé d'affaires announced that he would be leaving Yokohama on the nth. June from Yokohama with the "Empress of Canada". That the enterprising American democrats knew how to extract as much profit as possible from the Chinese war, making no distinction of party as they usually did in their protests and notices, was evident from a statement of the American State Department, where it was stated that in the month of May in the export of war material Japan marched in second place behind Brazil with an export in value of 1334608 dollars for aircraft material. China was in fourth place behind England with $523,298 for finished aircraft. Previously, China had been in first place, purchasing aircraft from America for $2 527 162 in April 1938. The Jews in France also got their sheep in the dry. Sun Fo, Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law, had arrived from Moscow and, with the support of the Chinese ambassador Dr. Wellington Koo, had succeeded in getting the Jewish French Finance Minister Mandel-Rothschildt to appoint several Jewish banks to advance funds to China for a new railroad from Indochina to Yunnan Province. The railroad construction, which was then actually started, went from Hanoi to the border of Yünnan at Dongdang, then to the Chinese town of Langsan, and was further to reach Nanning, the former capital of Kwangsi, but did not get beyond Langsan. The Governor General of Indochina received an initial payment of 15 million francs. The railroad was primarily intended to transport war material, mainly from Soviet Russia.

On June 10, the Japanese reached as close as the city of Chengchow on the Lunghai Railway. While Chiang Kai-shek expressed in a statement to foreign correspondents that the topographical advantages were from now on more on the Chinese side than on the Japanese, that from now on Japan would have to fight on battlefields that China prescribed for it, the Japanese battle plan was ready for the attack on Hankau. The emphasis was now shifted to the left wing on the Yangtze River, where the main attack on Hankau was to be made by sea and land. From Chengchow, the right wing was to advance south along the Hankau Railway, while from the center of Chengyuankwan this double-sided attack was to be accompanied. The Great Powers were ordered by Japan to withdraw their warships from the battle zone on the Yangtze River to prevent possible incidents from the outset. China ordered compulsory military service for the entire male population, so it was determined to offer the fiercest resistance to the Japanese action with the mass of man. However, in order to bring the Japanese advance in the north to a complete halt, the Chinese government decided to take a measure that now still used the forces of nature as a means of struggle. The Chinese peasants in the Chengchow-Kaifeng area had to durdistchen the dams of the Hoangho River in order to submerge the whole country. In this way, they artificially

caused what had naturally occurred in 1931, when the dams of the Hoangho broke and about 200,000 people perished in the floods. Initially, the floods found resistance at the dam of the Lunghai Railway. Nor could the Japanese operations be significantly affected, since, as mentioned, gravity had moved to the left wing, where Anking on the Yangtze was occupied on June 13. Previously, Tungling, below Tatung, had fallen on the right bank of the Yangtze. North of the river, the Japanese took Tungcheng. Not very credibly, Chinese news reports claimed that the Japanese had destroyed the Hoangho dams with bombs and artillery fire. The Chinese peasants had to pay, from whose population 130000 people are supposed to have perished in the floods. In Chengchow, which the Japanese were unable to occupy before the flooding, the water stood a meter or more high. Against the city walls of Kaifeng, the floodwaters of the stream were beating, generally spreading in a southeasterly direction across the country. Also, 5000 Japanese soldiers were said to have drowned when the Japanese deployed their troops to restore the burst dams. At a speed of 60 kilometers per hour, the floodwaters advanced southward in a width of 3 kilometers toward Fukow, south of Kaifeng. The crops over which the waters swept were completely destroyed. From Fukow, the waters moved on Chowkiakow towards Anhwei province. Thousands of villages sank in the floods. Several hundred thousand inhabitants became homeless. As is always the case with such natural disasters in China, the exact number of those killed has not been determined. Thus, in the north, a wide expanse of water had intervened between the fighting fronts. The Chinese had the advantage of being able to use the Hankau railroad from Chengchow to the south, after Japanese advance divisions had already interrupted the railroad at various points before the flood. Dam breaches were now also reported on the north bank of the Hoangho between Menghsien and Wenhsien. The floodwaters there flowed in a northeasterly direction and reached the Sin- siang railroad junction 50 kilometers north of the river on the Hankau Railway.

On June 17, the Japanese took Tsienshan, northwest of Anking, the importance of which lies in the fact that a road leads from there into the mountains on the border of Anhwei and Hupeh provinces. The occupation of Swatau on June 22 shut down another Chinese port that was important for the supply of war materials to Chiang Kai-shek. The Japanese government only now issued a manifesto calling for the nation's conversion to a war economy. This was to include: Fixing of maximum prices, introduction of substitutes, restrictions in the consumption of war-economy raw materials, etc.

After further landings on the south bank of the Yangtze, Pengtseh was occupied by the Japanese on June 29. The next objective here was Hukow, which on j. July saw a triumphant entry of the Japanese. These were retreat battles of the Chinese, which was evident from the low numbers of casualties on both sides and the small booty of the Japanese. After all, the attack on Hankau was gradually carried forward. After the capture of Hukow, a pause occurred in the operations, which did not resume until July 23. Probably a regrouping of Japanese troops took place. The terrain showed a peculiarity on the south bank of the Yangtze River, which became apparent during further operations. At Hukow, to the west of the town, the great Poyang Lake empties into the Yangtze with its drainage bed lying in front of the large town of Kiukiang, where the Chinese were preparing more vigorous resistance. The Japanese warships soon came under the fire of Chinese artillery.

In the midst of these events burst an operation on a farther front in the rear of the Japanese, namely in northeastern Manchukuo, where stronger Soviet-Russian forces crossed the border. These events will have to be dealt with in more detail later.

At the southern end of Lake Poyang lies the capital of Kiangsi Province, Nanchang. There the Japanese airmen performed a rare feat on July 18. There was a large Chinese Air Force port there. The attacking Japanese planes did not drop bombs, but landed on the site and remained there for half an hour, during which they set fire to all the Chinese planes there by tearing off pieces of the cowling and turning them

into flares with which they carried out their work of destruction. Under enemy machine-gun fire, they then hurried back to their planes and took off for their home port.
The eviction of Hankau, which had been underway for weeks, now spread to the Chinese authorities remaining in the city, who decided to move their headquarters to Chungking on the upper Yangtze River in Szechwan Province. The foreign diplomats were preparing to follow there. The Soviet Russian embassy had moved to Chungking some time ago. Otherwise, only the embassies of Germany, Italy and America were in Hankau. France and England were represented only by observers.
The Chinese army command believed that even the occupation of Hankau was not decisive in terms of the overall defense plan. The plan was to defend Hankau and the road to it until, as a result of the change of the southwest monsoon to the northwest monsoon, the Yangtze would fall and warships could no longer get beyond Hankau. Indeed, this tactic proved successful. Step by step and from position to position, the Japanese had to make their way westward, sometimes in difficult-to-reach mountainous areas. On July 26, Kiukiang was occupied, a quite important city on the south bank of the Yangtze and the starting point of the Chekiang Railway via Nanchang in a curve around to Hangchow in the east. It was now another 200 kilometers to Hankau. Proceeding further, the Japanese encountered very strongly defended positions in the Lushan Mountains south of the Yangtze. On the north bank, a Chinese counterattack on Taihu had to be repulsed first, then they moved on to Susung and Hwangmei in the extreme southeast of Hupeh Province. Eight Chinese divisions had defended Kiukiang, reportedly losing 3700 dead, three 10-centimeter guns, two field guns, two Tak guns, six mountain guns, several machine guns, and a large number of small arms and ammunition. South of the Hoangho, complete combat silence had occurred as a result of the flooding. The Japanese troops had to be withdrawn from the flooded area. In Shansi, the Chinese continued their guerrilla warfare with considerable success, even going over to normal warfare after fresh troops were thrown across the river into the province at Tungkwan. The Japanese had to be very maneuverable, since Chinese detachments appeared unexpectedly in their rear and on their flanks. In fact, the Japanese could only occupy the most important places from which raids were conducted. A complete occupation of the province was not achieved. Moreover, quite strong forces of the Japanese were held there, which were missing on the main front against Hankau.

X. INTO THE SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR

The entry into the second year of the war - July 7 for the fighting near Beijing, August 13 for the military events at Shanghai - had been marked by both parties without celebration. While Japanese successes were undeniable, they were overshadowed by the border incident with Soviet Russia on the Korean-Manchurian-Soviet-Russian border. In addition, Japanese troops were in undecided combat in the attack on their next objective, Hankau. Chinese resistance north and south of the Yangtze had stiffened so surprisingly that Japan's plan to enter Hankau in four weeks proved impracticable. The Japanese denied that the border incident with Soviet Russia had delayed their offensive on Hankau. Nor was it correct that second-rate troops were deployed against China, while the best divisions were ready against Soviet Russia on the Manchurian border. Nevertheless, it would be understandable if the advance far in the rear of the Japanese front had slowed down the offensive on the Yangtze. In any case, the statement of a senior Japanese officer: "We do not want a second war," namely the one against Soviet Russia, seems to be vouched for.

a) Changkufeng

In northeastern Manchuria, the boundary conditions are very strange in that where
Manchuria, Korea and Soviet Russia clash in a three-country corner, Manchuria has no access to the sea, since the Tumen River forms the border and at its mouth only Soviet Russia and Korea are opposite, even if only on a relatively short distance. In that corner lies the larger city of Hunchun, from which a

mountain range extends to the southeast at the extreme tip, the highest point of which is Changkufeng Mountain. Where river courses do not naturally mark the border there in the far east, there is no clarity about the affiliation of the border strips. In 1860 China ceded to Russia the coastal province in Eastern Siberia. However, no one has taken the trouble to mark out border markers in that swampy and very sparsely populated area. Japan, as the protecting power of Manchukuo, and Soviet Russia, for its part, took the view that the mountain and village of Changkufeng belonged to them. Moscow referred to a hitherto unknown treaty with China of Hunchun from 1869.

There is no evidence that Soviet Russia made the July 1938 advance in agreement with China on the basis of arrangements that have been repeatedly talked about. In and of themselves, such incidents on the Manchurian border, which stretches over 2400 kilometers, were nothing new. Yes, one could call them natural, in any case regularly recurring. In Tokyo, they kept very precise records. The places where they occurred were not without significance. After all, the possibility of a major clash between Japan and Soviet Russia was not entirely beyond speculation. It was not surprising then if general staff officers saw their job as scouting out the possible theaters of war in a timely manner. Seen in this light, 138

And now to the events! On July 12, 1938, a detachment of the Red Army of the Far East crossed the Manchurian border and advanced more than three kilometers into Manchurian territory. Behind the advanced detachments, larger accumulations of troops were said to have been noticed. The Manchukuo government protested the same day to the Consul General of the Soviet Union in Mukden and demanded withdrawal of the troops. On July 15, Japanese Chargé d'Affaires Nishi protested in the same way to the Foreign Commissariat in Moscow. In Tokyo it was recalled that at the place of the incident shortly before, the GPU chief of the Far East, Lyushkov, had crossed the border into Man- dschukuo on the run. Now it has never been fully clarified whether the Red troops occupied Chang- kufeng Mountain or not. In any case, they dug in for the time being. On July 19, Japanese Ambassador Shigemitsu renewed the Japanese protest after returning to his post from a trip to Europe. Large rallies against Soviet Russia were held in Tokyo. Leaflets called for the chastisement of Soviet Russia.

An official communique was issued in Moscow on July 17, stating: "Since July 11, not a single Red soldier has crossed the border into Manchuria. The Soviet Foreign Office made this clear to the Japanese chargé d'affaires, showing him the Treaty of Hunchun of 1869 and the map annexed to the treaty. There can be no doubt at all that Lake Hansan, to the west of which the alleged border crossing by the Soviets is said to have occurred, lies entirely within Soviet territory." In Tokyo there was already talk of more than two divisions of the Far East Red Army massed at the scene of the incident. During the investigation of the incident, one Japanese soldier had been killed after being fired upon from the other side.

As always in such border incidents, the question of who opened fire first remained open. According to Japanese findings, on July 29

a small Soviet Russian detachment of about ten men across the border to Shatsaofeng Mountain, which was driven back. Somewhat later, larger Soviet Russian detachments with armored cars made their appearance and opened fire on the Japanese positions. It proved favorable that Japan had immediately stronger forces in Korea with the 19th and 20th Divisions, under the command of General Nakamura. On July 31, parts of it occupied Shatsaofeng Mountain as well as Changkufeng Mountain. The Soviets reportedly lost 200 men in casualties during the engagement. Five machine guns and eleven armored cars were captured by the Japanese. Red artillery opened fire on the village of Kojo on the right bank of the Turnen River to the north of Changkufeng Mountain. On August 1, Red planes appeared several times and dropped bombs on a number of localities. Five planes were shot down. In the following days the Red divisions renewed their attacks, as did the Red bombers, but were regularly repulsed. In one week, 50 armored cars fell into the hands of the Japanese, some of which were not shot together but

abandoned by their crews for lack of fuel. Nevertheless, efforts continued from the Japanese side to end the fighting through negotiations in Moscow. There did not seem to be much enthusiasm for war with Japan on the Soviet Russian side either, when "Pravda" wrote: "We do not desire war, but we are prepared for war. The international situation forces us to keep our powder dry." Indeed, on August 10, after a three-hour meeting between Japanese Ambassador Shige- mitsu and Foreign Commissar Litvinov, an agreement on the border conflict was reached.

On August 11, exactly four weeks later, came

the incident, which initially looked rather precarious, to a conclusion. Hostilities were to cease at 12 noon local time. Authorized military personnel were to meet immediately on the spot to make further arrangements. Japan had succeeded in all essentials in its proposals. The Japanese estimated the strength of the Soviet troops deployed at 20,000 men, 200 armored cars, and 200 aircraft. Japanese bugle signals announced the beginning of the armistice at the appointed time. At Chankufeng Mountain, the two sides' lines of riflemen faced each other in trenches at a distance of only 60 meters. It was agreed that the troops of both sides would be withdrawn 80 meters each. A new position map was prepared, with Colonel Ihno and Major Tanaka working together on the Japanese side, and General Schutern and Colonel Uvesotov on the Soviet side. The map showed that at the end of the fighting Changkufeng Mountain was in Japanese possession. The mutual troops soon fraternized and exchanged cigarettes with each other. The fallen were exchanged. According to Japanese custom, the bodies were immediately cremated on the battlefield. The ashes were transported to the homeland. No exact figures can be given about the casualties on both sides, as the figures reported by the Japanese and Soviet Russian sides contradict each other too much. In its final report, the Korean Army High Command gave the Soviet Russian forces as three sniper divisions, two cavalry divisions, 300 armored cars and 100 aircraft. The final fixing of the border was reserved for diplomatic negotiations. The official conclusion was a decree to the Japanese army in which the Chief of the General Staff, Prince Kanin, announced the an-

The Emperor expressed his appreciation for the troops deployed, who had shown patience and restraint under difficult circumstances in the face of overwhelming odds. The embattled Changkufeng Mountain was renamed Seiyu Mountain, which means "courage for the righteous cause".

b) Hankau

The Japanese attack operations on the middle Yangtze were pursued until the capture of Kiukiang on July 26. The idea was to carry forward the attack on Hankau with warships on the river itself and to advance simultaneously on both banks by land. It was undoubtedly a rather daring operation by European standards, although these were corrected by the bold German operations in Poland and on the Western Front in 1939/40. In the north, the attack along the Lunghai Railway had stalled before Chengchow as a result of flooding. From there the front swung back eastward in an arc to meet the Yangtze at Hofei and from there to advance a point along the river to Kiukiang. The left wing hung back still farther. The front moved southeast from Wuhu on the Yangtze to Hangchow on the bay of the same name.

The front advanced from Lüchow on Tsienshan north of the Yangtze River reached Kwangtsi and Hwangmei in the first days of August. There the Chinese developed a strong attack and pushed the Japanese into defense. Now the Yangtze River also brought the seasonal floods, submerging Hwangmei and all the Japanese positions. Chiang Kai-shek probably wanted to take advantage of the Japanese being tied up on the Man- d.churian border to launch a new offensive.4000 Japanese held in the ruins of the -

Hwangmei town stood firm in spite of all the aggravations. On the south bank, the Japanese had landed troops above Kiukiang, which developed into an attack on Juichang. This place lies between the

Yangtze River and the heights rising to the south to the Lu-shan, the northern range of the Nan-shan Mountains, which is up to 800 meters high. The aerial resort of Kuling is also located there. While these battles progressed slowly, a diplomatic offensive took place from Tokyo. It was directed at one point to England, whose ambassador had a meeting with Foreign Minister General Ugaki on August 18, reportedly to discuss the possibility of improving mutual relations. At the same time, Prime Minister Prince Konoye addressed a message to the Italian people, expressing the gratitude of the Japanese people for the understanding shown by Italy since the beginning of hostilities, as well as for the support at the Brussels Conference and the repeated proofs of friendship.

In Shansi Province, a bold advance by the Japanese to the southwestern corner in the knee of the Hoangho succeeded with the occupation of the town of Puchau, where the railroad leading from Tatung via Taiyüan reaches its end. That was on August 17, 1938.

In addition to enemy action and flooding, Japanese troops faced another obstacle to continuing operations. Cholera and typhoid fever killed many soldiers, and dysentery led to breakdowns in the ranks of the frontline troops. There was a murderous heat in the Yangtze Valley. Nevertheless, the Japanese managed to capture Juichang on the afternoon of August 24. For August 27, the Japanese High Command ordered the start of a new general offensive at sunrise. The operational plan remained the same: Main thrust on the Yangtze River and north of
and south accompanying attacks on land. Again, the numbers of the deployed Japanese divisions were concealed and only the names of the sub-leaders were mentioned: Tanaka, Sonoda, Kinejima, Ischikawa, Tsuda, and Yasumi. 100,000 Japanese are said to have lined up for battle against 400,000 Chinese. The Chinese resisted fiercely and counterattacked in many cases. The Japanese air attacks resulted in the discontinuation of air communications between Hankau and Canton after a commercial airliner of the Eurasia Airline was forced to land. Fighting was heaviest with the southern column advancing on Teian on the western shore of Lake Poyang. The center column encountered fierce resistance at the foothills of the Lushan Mountains. From the center of the total front, a column from the Pengpu area on the Pukau Railway was advancing southwest and was able to occupy Liuan. South of there, Hwoshan was occupied. South of the Yangtze River, Teian fell into Japanese hands on August 30, but was soon retaken by the Japanese Reserve Divisions 101 and 106 by Chinese General Hsuch Yueh, who had lured the Japanese into a trap, only to be finally occupied by the Japanese on October 18. Teian had been fortified by the Chinese and was defended by them with dogged tenacity. The severity of the fighting resulted from the fact that the capture of Hankau was not expected for another four weeks. The Japanese Minister of War, Itagaki, issued a sharply worded statement: "If Japan has opened the siege against Hankau, it does not intend to make peace, but demands the complete surrender of Chiang Kai-shek. This surrender will be accepted only if the Chinese government, eliminating Chiang Kai-shek, cooperates with the various Chinese anti-communists and with the pro-Japanese regimes. If Chiang Kai-shek refuses these conditions, he will be hounded to the farthest interior of the country, where he will be free to set up a local regime without influence. I >.r. are the immutable objectives of Japan."

On i. September 1923, as is well known, the severe earthquake had devastated Tokyo and Yokohama and claimed 47000 mens< licnlcben. Fifteen years later, on Sep- temlx-i 1, 1938, a new, though less severe, catastrophe struck Tokyo when a tai- inn swept over the city, killing 99 me. l eben. 6300 houses were destroyed to the point of uninhabitability b.ii. 163 bridges washed away by high water and 71 ships thrown onto the beach. In Tokyo's parks, almost every tree was uprooted and had to be restored to its former position by strong supports.

On September 3, the fortunes of war began to shift back to the Japanese side. Nine Chinese divisions were driven from their positions on the south bank of the Yangtze River. Along the Chekiang Railway,

a column advanced on Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi. To hasten the conquest of Hankau, the army division advancing from Anhwei pushed back the Chinese in a southwesterly direction and reached the border of Anhwei and Honan provinces. The Ta Pieh Mountains, which were to be regarded as part of the outer defensive belt of Hankau, were placed there as a crossbar in front of this attack. On the extreme right Japanese wing, Kushih was occupied on September 7. There the 88th Chinese Division, designated as Chiang Kai-shek's bodyguard, was to be in the fight. Particularly fierce resistance was offered by ten Chinese divisions north of the Yangtze River at the village of Kwangtsi.

After a week-long siege of the town, it was finally taken by the Japanese in the afternoon of September 6. By accident, the Japanese, while clearing Kwangtsi, found a plan of Hankau's outer fortification line, which showed that with the capture of Juichang and Kwangtsi, the fortification line had been broken in its first front, but extended 30 kilometers into the depths.

For the upcoming invasion of Hankau, which was to drag on for almost six weeks, the so-called "Royal Column" was designated, i.e. a mechanized division under the command of Prince Naruhiko Hagashi Kuni, who had a daughter of the great Emperor Meiji as his wife and was thus very close to the Japanese imperial family. This column pushed through the foothills of the Ta-Pieh Mountains after weeks of fighting, after the Chinese fortifications were shot down in the mountain forests torn apart by shells and bombs.

Wusüeh on the north bank of the Yangtze fell into Japanese hands on September 16. Success was achieved only step by step, as the Chinese had received reinforcements and were doing excellently in defense. At Wusüeh, Japanese naval landing forces had particularly distinguished themselves. They entered the town from the Yangtze River first, followed by parts of the Japanese land troops. On the same day, Kwangshan fell in the north, only 90 kilometers from the Hankau Railway. On September 21, Loshan, which lies midway between Kwangshan and Sinyang on the railroad line, fell. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek spoke of courage to the people of the Japanese-occupied northern provinces when he stated in his message, "Japan is consuming itself step by step. Now cs is making its last effort. I want to tell you that happy days are ahead of you. Our country's glory and victory as well as its liberation will soon be true facts." New counterattacks by the Chinese proved that their power of resistance was not yet broken. In the rear of the Japanese front, the Chinese irregulars continued their activities with great success. They advanced to and occupied Chifu by the sea and also appeared at the gates of Tientsin.

Once again, the Chinese government had clutched at the straw of the League of Nations and demanded steps against Japan's actions in China. In response, the Council decided at its meeting on September 29 that "individual sanctions" should be taken against Japan. Thereafter, each member had the right to implement sanctions against Japan on its own initiative. Whereas previously Geneva members had been required only to apply financial and economic measures against Japan and like assistance from China, they were now to use military action "for the preservation of peace." In Geneva's view, this meant fighting on China's side. Thus, the aid that Soviet Russia was already giving China was sanctioned under international law. In Tokyo, the meaning of this Geneva decision had been well understood and was drawn to its conclusion after the General Assembly approved the Council's decision on October 3. The Japanese government, which had continued to participate in a number of commissions since leaving the League of Nations and had also remained a member of the International Labor Office, terminated this participation on December 31, 1938, thus turning its back on Geneva completely. It may be switched on here that China also lost faith in Geneva two years later. In September 1940, it closed its Geneva office, a move that went almost unnoticed in the whirl of the European war.

Prince Naruhiko's "Royal Column" suffered a setback before its victorious entry into Hankau. Its 13th Division was attacked on September 29 and suffered casualties after a three-day battle following a perimeter attack under the command of General Chen Cheng.

In Tokyo, there was a partial crisis in the cabinet at the end of September. Foreign Minister General Ugaki resigned because military circles disagreed with the handling of the Chinese issue. The military had demanded the establishment of a Central Bureau for China with broad powers, an institution Ugaki saw as incompatible with the functions of the Foreign Office. With him resigned the advisers who had only recently been appointed to the Cabinet, former Ambassadors Sato and Arita, and Deputy Parliamentary Foreign Minister Matsumoto. Prince Konoye provisionally assumed the posts of foreign minister and overseas affairs minister, both of which Ugaki had held. The plan for a Central Bureau for China was adopted. Deputy Foreign Minister Horinouchi also resigned and was replaced by Sawada, the previous diplomatic representative in Beijing.

On the Chinese side, the question arose whether Hankau should be defended or left to the Japanese. Finally, the influence of the communist army leaders prevailed, who insisted on defense. As a result, three communist divisions arrived at the Yangtze River. The civilian population was completely evacuated.

On the first anniversary of the Marco Polo Bridge incident, July 7, 1938, Prime Minister Prince Konoye had addressed the Japanese

People with an appeal, in which he could point out that Japan had never been defeated so far in its history. The Wehrmacht had also now won victory after victory, so that the days of Hankau were numbered. What was the significance of Hankau? It is located in the lowlands of the middle reaches of the Yangtze River, the so-called Chingchow Plain, where many heroic battles in China's history have taken place. To the north the plain is closed by the Ta Pieh Mountains, to the south by the Wanyang Mountains. For the Japanese attack, the Yangtze River was a very welcome traffic line leading to Hankau with few turns. Only through this river was it possible to conduct the operation in a sharp wedge, while leaving unconquered terrain on both sides. The aforementioned mountain ridges caused the war to degenerate into a mountain war, which brought considerable difficulties, especially for supplies. The lakes and swamps lying on both sides of the river were also not very advantageous for the offensive. The exact strength of the deployed Chinese troops cannot be specified. There was talk of 170 divisions, of which 40 were in the Ta Pieh Mountains, 10 along the north bank of the Yangtze and over 50 south of the river, further 10 on the Canton-Hankau Railway, over 10 in and around Hankau and over 50 to the north on the Lunghai Railway. At the outbreak of hostilities, one Chinese division numbered about 10000 men. At the present stage of the war the divisions were much weaker, some as few as 800 and 1000 strong, according to the testimony of a captured Chinese officer. On the Lunghai Railway were mostly troops from Kwangsi under command of General Pai Chung-hsi. The Yangtze front was commanded by General Chang Fa-kwei, while the commander-in-chief from the Sh'achr of Hsü-

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chowfu commanded the troops in and around Hankau, General Chen Cheng. It was believed that Marshal Chiang Kai-shek himself united about 50 divisions under his command. They were considered elite troops and were interspersed with the other divisions. Hence, the strong resistance that the Japanese had encountered was written.

The Japanese wanted to deal the Chinese at Hankau as decisive a blow as they had dealt the Russians at the Battle of Mukden. The advanced wedge of the Japanese offensive, however, did not lead to the expectation that the Chinese forces would be annihilated, because an encirclement could hardly be carried out. The Japanese high command therefore had to strive to shake the enemy's fighting strength as much as possible in individual blows. As a line of retreat, the Chinese would probably always try to keep the upper Yangtze open for themselves. It was disadvantageous for the Japanese that they had to

fight the big battle 400 kilometers from their base in Shanghai. The few roads available were difficult to pass due to flooding and long rains, which had a detrimental effect on supplies.
The entire Wuhan District with the tripartite city of Hankau, consisting of Hankau, Wuchang and Nanyang, was attacked from three sides. The fall of the city was not only a matter of prestige for Japan, but also of importance in political, economic and military terms. Whether it would be enough to end the war must have seemed questionable from the Chinese government's previous statements. One also had to reckon with an intensified conduct of the guerrilla warfare by the Chinese, which in turn would result in increased deployment of Japanese forces against this elusive opponent, in order to soon achieve peace and order in the occupied territories.
The course of the operations brought the southwestern province of Szechuan, which had hitherto had little prominence in China's history, particularly to the fore. It was one of the richest Chinese provinces, but until then it had contributed almost nothing to world trade. The first priority was to promote agriculture and then to exploit the mineral wealth. Iron, copper, coal and other valuable metals were waiting to be mined, for which capital and technical skills were needed. The water forces had not yet been exploited at all.
And now the course of the October battles! On October 8, Kichun above Kiukiang on the north bank of the Yangtze fell into Japanese hands. The warships were able to advance further, even if the many river barriers built by the Chinese caused them stops. It is recalled that in July the Japanese had been prevented from advancing further west along the Lunghai Railway after the fall of Kaifeng and from taking Chengchow because the Chinese had torn open the dams of the Hoangho. Now Japanese air reconnaissance wanted to have established that the Chinese had voluntarily evacuated the place. South of the Lunghai Railway, the Japanese, leaving the Ta- Pieh Mountains on the left, kept up a brisk advance on the Hankau Railway. South of Sinyang the advance resulted in the disruption of the railroad, the vanguard of Japanese cavalry blowing up two important and difficult-to-repair bridges and cutting off the said town from Hankau. The Ta-Pieh Mountains, once again referred to as the Chinese Maginot Line, could be cleared of the Chinese forces remaining therein at the same time. That the Chi-ties could hold out for so long at all seemed almost miraculous to neutral observers on the ground, especially since they lacked artillery and aircraft. Moreover, the roads to the outside world were already almost unusable. The railroad from Canton north to Hankau, which was an engineering masterpiece in its construction through the high mountains, was repeatedly under bombardment by the Japanese, so that traffic could not be maintained without interruptions. Further west, the new railroad from Indochina from Hanoi to Langson was available, but was also beset by Japanese bombers. Ammunition factories had also been established in the industrial buildup in Szechuan, but they could never meet the needs of the front. China remained dependent on imports of war materials, especially for aircraft, artillery, and their ammunition.
On io. October, Sinyang fell into the hands of the Japanese. The artillery had shot in the city walls, then the sappers had made a breach in the wall through which the infantry rushed into the city. South of the Yangtze, too, progress was being made. The Fu River had been crossed there and the advance continued toward Sienning on the Canton Railway. North of there, naval landing detachments had occupied Shihhweiyao on the south bank of the Yangtze.
With the connection from Indochina to Yünnan and Kwangsi endangered, the idea arose to establish a road and rail connection to Burma (Hinterindien) further west. Until then, there was only a primitive road there, which could be used at most by horse or ox-drawn vehicles. England gave its consent to the extension of the Burma road and also to the construction of a railroad. Both had to be routed over very difficult terrain. No modern road machines were available, but thousands of coolies were.

Those who believed that Japan was already sufficiently busy on its attack fronts and could not initiate new operations were disabused on October 12, 1938 and in the following days, when a surprise attack on Canton in the south was launched. This operation will be discussed later.
South of the Yangtze River, Yangsin fell on October 18. In order not to get into trouble again with the governments of England and America when the fighting approached Hankau, the Japanese government requested the powers to clearly designate the foreign property and their ships to avoid incidents. In addition, the foreign ships were to be stationed above Hankau. The Japanese had a major success south of the Yangtze River, as the rich iron ore deposits at Tajeh fell into their hands. The area comprises 40 percent of China's total iron ore production. Before the war, more than one million tons of iron ore were exported annually from there to Japan. On the Yangtze River, the Japanese fleet, in conjunction with land forces, moved ever closer to Hankau. It fell on the south bank on October 20, the village of Hwangshih- kang. On the north shore, the advance was on Kishui. Another typhoon raced over Tokyo on October 21, killing 435 people and injuring 592. Since Canton was captured by the Japanese on the same day, the jubilation of victory could not reach the expected proportions. On the other hand, the occupation of Tajeh in the ore-mining area south of the Yangtze River the day before again increased the enthusiasm in the capital. Kishui also fell at the same time north of the Yangtze.
The Ta Pieh Mountains had now been completely penetrated. Macheng was the next target northeast of Hankau. There the cannon thunder could already be heard clearly. The city had been almost completely cleared of its population under official coercion.
The hour had come when Tokyo could definitely envisage Hankau's imminent fall. It was understandable that diplomacy and state leadership were preoccupied with the idea of how to continue the conflict with China after this event. The idea that Japan would support and promote the new regime already being formed in China was made very clear. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek was rejected as a negotiating partner. They went so far as to emphasize that even if Chiang Kai-shek asked for peace, they would not negotiate with him. His government was no longer recognized by Tokyo as the central government of China. On the other hand, the principle that relations with China should be placed on a completely new footing was now firmly established. China's cooperation with Japan and Manchukuo was to form the basis of the Far East peace. This laid the foundation for the later formulation of Greater East Asia, the new order in East Asia. Three points of view were to prevail: i. on the part of China, cessation of all measures of an economic, political, and educational nature which had hitherto stood in the way of friendship between the two countries; 2. cultural cooperation in the sense of a common anti-comintern policy; and 3. economic and industrial cooperation. In the military field, there was no question of a cessation of operations; rather, they were to continue until the elimination of any political or military show of force by Chiang Kai-shek. There was also no mention of territorial cessions of China, but it was emphasized that Japanese garrisons would have to be left in China in order to immediately suppress any anti-Japanese movement. The principle of rejecting any foreign interference was also upheld. To this end, the strengthening of Japanese armaments and production capacity was necessary in order not to be dependent on foreign countries in economic matters. If one contrasts later developments, it must be admitted that all possibilities for the future were foresightedly considered when this program was drawn up, initially in broad outline.
In the final phase of the Battle of Hankau, the Japanese threw their motorized units forward without regard to the context of the attacking forces. The latter were able to gain ground quickly north of the Yangtze River and occupied the village of Hwangpei 30 kilometers north of the city, while now detachments west of the Hankau Railway were also already advancing northwest of the city in a southerly direction. Perhaps this movement cut off at least part of the city's defenders from retreating.

The main mass of the Chinese always found a broad retreat to the southwest and south, or a favorable defensive front behind the Han River, which flows into the Yangtze from the northwest.
Hankau's last hour was approaching. Huge fires blazed up and enveloped the city in black, smoldering smoke. Since no security could be granted from the Chinese side for the tourist quarters, again, as in Shanghai, a man made himself deserving, whose name had already found wide circulation. The one-armed French Jesuit Father Jaquinot organized a safety zone into which the foreigners who had stayed behind, intermixed with Chinese refugees, could save themselves. The Japanese respected this zone when they moved in. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek held out in the city until the last moment and then went with his wife first to Chengtu in Szechwan Province and from there to Chungking, which served as the new war capital. Against the barricaded security zone in Hankau, distraught residents, cut off from escape, surged forward. Factories, public buildings and roads were blown up. Nothing could be done about the fires because the waterworks had been destroyed. Hankau became a flaming hell. As a result of the destruction of the post office and radio station, Hankau was completely cut off from the outside world during the Japanese advance. The first news reached the outside world through a shortwave transmitter, which gave news of the progress of the fire disaster throughout the day until it broke off with the words, "All hell has broken loose!" 8000 Chinese are said to have perished in the floods above Hankau when Japanese bombers dropped their bombs on three refugee steamers. 5000 perished on a cargo steamer converted for passengers, 1000 on the steamer "Kiangsin" of the Chinese Merchant Shipping Company, 2000 on the steamer "Siangyang", at most 100 reached the shore by swimming.
October 25, 1938, was the day of the Japanese invasion of the hard-pressed city, which saw the entry of Japanese divisions from the north, northeast, east and southeast, with a senior Japanese officer stating that the terrain difficulties had placed greater obstacles in the way of the troops than the resistance of the Chinese troops. In military brevity, the report from the Imperial Headquarters in Tokyo read: "Our troops operating against Han- cau left at 4.30 a.m. after
12 Mossdorf, East Asia entered a district of Hankau at noon today." No more resistance has been offered by the Chinese troops. So there was no street fighting. By higher orders, the city had been cleared without a fight. Fortunately, shortly before the Japanese invasion, a heavy rain set in, which caused quite a number of fires to go out, so that even more of the town could be saved than was to be expected.
The Chinese sought to build a new front in the southwest and west. From there, a statement by Chiang Kai-shek was transmitted: "Even after the fall of Hankau, we will continue to fight. The opening of peace negotiations is out of the question." At the same time, the Japanese Minister of War issued a statement saying, "The victories of Canton and Hankau are to be regarded as significant victories of Japan. Nevertheless, according to the old Japanese saying, "After victory, tie your helmet tighter!" Japan must redouble its efforts to achieve the ultimate goal of the conflict." Two Japanese commanders-in-chief had to share in the victory at Hankau: Colonel General Sugiyama as leader of the Northern Front and Colonel General Hata as leader of the Middle China Front. After fully occupying Hankau, the Japanese immediately advanced and sought to cut off portions of the enemy south of the city. However, they met stubborn resistance. Again, the Chinese proved to be masters of retreat. The Japanese could not reach the Hankau-Canton Railway, which served as one of the main lines of retreat for the Chinese, but only captured the village of Kinniuchen northeast of the Sienning railroad station.
And again the same spectacle occurred as every time Japan had a great success: the democracies made their presence felt in an advance against Japan. This time it was America which, one day after the occupation of Hankau, on October 26, published a note which had already been delivered in Tokyo on October 6. In it was expressed that Japan was not only exercising military and administrative sovereignty in the occupied territories of China, but also, in contradiction with promises often made,

was crowding out American commercial interests. A large number of examples were used to explain this assertion, which revealed a complete misunderstanding or unwillingness to understand what was going on in China. The note was carried by the notorious mercantilism of the Americans, who saw their hides swimming away more and more. This war of notes, which Japan calmly endured as on previous occasions, showed the increasing tension between the two states and America's desire to put obstacles in the way of Japan's East Asia policy wherever possible. Washington was committed to the status quo and did not understand the meaning of the new world order that was increasingly emerging, both in East Asia and in Europe.

c) Canton

The frequent appearance of Japanese warships off the South China coast had indicated that a new operation was planned there. There were also trial landings at various points along the coast in September 1938, which were then reversed. The Japanese, as noted, had declared a blockade over Chinese shipping along the entire coast at a very early date, but had not yet been able to make it consistently effective. If the war became a

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In order to bring the war to an early end, Chiang Kai-shek had to cut off all access routes to the outside world. Of these, the one via Hong Kong or Kaulun on the opposite mainland was particularly important, because China could manage its imports under the protection of the English sitting there. England's position in Hong Kong itself could not be eliminated by Japan. It could only be crippled by bypassing it and then blocking the railroad from Kaulun to Canton. It was to this plan that the new operation was officially announced in Tokyo on October 12, 1938, with the announcement that the Japanese Army and Navy had begun military operations against southern China along the coast of Kwangtung Province. More than 30 Japanese warships appeared off the Chinese coast on the said day, and 70 transport ships were guided by them to the landing site, which had already become known to the world from earlier years. It was Bias Bay, about 130 kilometers east of Hong Kong, a notorious lair of Chinese pirates that had never been smoked out. 30,000 men were put ashore in very bad weather, with pouring rain and very high waves. The shallow water on the shore meant that the disembarked troops had to wade through heavy swells before reaching solid land. Again, the Japanese proved to be masters of landing operations, which, however, could be accomplished under the protection of the warships and in the complete absence of enemy opposition. Immediately after the landing was completed, the advance was made on the Kaulun-Canton Railway. The British were concerned for their possessions and had the frontier occupied by land, but at first had only two battalions available. Reinforc- 180

The Chinese troops were brought in from Singapore and Shanghai. Reinforcements were also expected on the Japanese side, while Chinese troops in the Canton area were estimated at one million Kwangtung provincial troops and several regular divisions. The Chinese army command was so tied up in Central China by the Japanese attack on Hankau that it had to leave the defense of the south primarily to the provincial troops. On the other hand, the Japanese hoped that the Chinese would after all decide to withdraw troops from the Yangtze, thus relieving the Japanese attack on Hankau. The name of the Japanese commander-in-chief on the newly formed third front in the south was kept secret for a long time. Eventually it emerged that General Motoo Furusho was entrusted, in whose staff the younger brother of the Japanese emperor, Prince Titybu, served as lieutenant colonel.

Once again, a displeased foreign state, this time England, made itself known in Tokyo through its ambassador, saying that British interests in Hong Kong and the surrounding areas would be endangered by Japan's actions. An incident could seriously disrupt Anglo-Japanese relations. The Japanese Foreign Office contented itself with a statement that the rights of foreigners would be respected as before. Every effort would be made to prevent damage. Hong Kong would not be regarded as a focus of anti-Japanese

machinations. Foreign shipping could continue unhindered in its traffic with Hong Kong. Different from England's was Italy's opinion. Mussolini, in receiving Japanese journalists who later also visited Germany, declared that he was glad to receive the Japanese at the auspicious time when Japanese troops had landed south of Canton. The Duce expressed the certainty of the final victory of Japan, so that the Japanese nation would have new opportunities for development, which deserved a strong and fruitful people and for which the Italian people had full understanding. This understanding was demonstrated by Mussolini two years later when his Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Japan in Berlin on September 27, 1940.

In Hong Kong, the police reserves were mobilized and placed under the immediate command of the governor, Sir Geoffrey A. F. Morthcote, was placed in charge. But British concerns lay even more in other areas, especially when it became known that the Chinese intended to close Canton's access to the sea. Hong Kong depended almost entirely on the Chinese hinterland for its supplies, and this weighed particularly heavily with the large influx of refugees when communications to it were cut. Concerns were also raised in America about what would become of American trade to Canton, since it was one of the main ports of entry. The Japanese advance was initially aimed at the town of Weitschau, which had been set on fire by Japanese bomb squadrons. Japanese planes appeared over Canton on October 14, dropping leaflets and demanding the surrender of the city within 24 hours. The rapid progress of the Japanese offensive meant that Hong Kong was already cut off from all communications with the hinterland. This also made the supply of war material to Chiang Kai-shek by this route almost impossible. The Chinese authorities abandoned Canton and retreated north to the village of Yünyüan. On October 15, the Japanese made a new landing, but it was only a deception and was reversed. Weitschau fell on the same day, Poklo on October 16. Now a landing was also made west of Hong Kong in the Canton delta in order to make rapid progress in as broad a front as possible. In Canton, the Chinese military held large rallies and urged the people to use everything to save Canton. Chiang Kai-shek did provide reinforcements in the south. The provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi and Kiangsi were called in. He himself went to Fengyang on the Canton Railway to supervise operations. The Japanese army command not only advanced on Canton in a straight line, but proved by the occupation of Lungmoon that a blockade of Canton from the north was intended at the same time. Since Chinese resistance was still very weak at that time, it could happen that as early as 2:30 a.m. on October 21, Japanese armored cars entered the city. Motorized detachments poured into the city in uninterrupted succession. Earlier, the Chinese had blown up the big bridge over the Pearl River.

The surprise at the rapid fall of this significant city of China's south was very great throughout the world. Strong Chinese provincial forces had simply not been deployed. There was nothing to repair the situation afterwards. Of the Kwangtung troops, a considerable part were on the Hankau front and fell out in defense of the home province. The whole operation was completed in ten days. There remained one remaining job to be done. The approach to Canton was blocked by the Bocca Tigris forts. The assault was made on October 24 by combined army and navy forces. By noon the forts were in Japanese hands. The fleet then proceeded to clear away the mines laid by the Chinese in the Pearl River.

To celebrate the double victory of Canton and Hankau, a week of festivities was held in Japan, with large rallies especially in Tokyo. Demonstrations were held everywhere for the final victory of the Japanese armed forces. October 28 became a special day of celebration. The population had flocked in their thousands to the Imperial Palace when they were treated to an unexpected surprise. Suddenly the gates opened and the Tenno appeared in the gate on his personal horse "Shirayuki", "White Snow", in the square in front of the palace, where he received the enthusiastic homage of the flag-waving crowd. In the evening, a grand parade with lanterns was planned to end at the Yasukuni Shrine, where the ashes of the fallen are solemnly kept. And again the crowd flocked to the Imperial Palace, and again the gates

opened. The Tenno appeared with a lantern in his hand, and next to him also the Empress. The enthusiastic homage would not end until the imperial couple retreated back into the palace. Every Japanese who witnessed these hours at the imperial palace will not be able to get away from the great, unforgettable impression for the rest of his life. Loud shouts of banzai incessantly rang out to the imperial couple. The thanks were directed to the Tenno and the victorious Wehrmacht, which had pinned new laurels to their flags.

d) Konoye Memorandum

With the capture of Canton and Hankau in October 1938, another stage of the great struggle had come to an end. But had they been turning points? The question must be answered in the negative. The Chinese army had again evaded annihilation. It was ready to fight on. Losses could always be replenished from the large reservoir of men. The will to resist had not been broken. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek had not lost prestige or confidence. He and his staff adhered to the old saying of Confucius: "It is not brute force that decides, but perseverance." Who would have the longer breath? Still Chiang Kai-shek's words had retained their meaning, spoken in an appeal to the Chinese people on National Day 1937, October 10: "The whole country is engaged in a heroic struggle for its existence, in a fight to the death against a foreign attack. This hour is undoubtedly the most difficult and difficult in the history of our national liberation. All our citizens must fully understand that despite the efforts we have made so far, even greater sacrifices are necessary for our success. We must know that there is not the slightest hope of ending the hostilities in the course of a few months. We must realize the ever-increasing toils and sufferings for as long as this bitter struggle lasts, must be prepared to face courageously situations and dangers ten times as difficult as those we now face."

And Japan? The Japanese people were quite justified in celebrating the honorary days of their Wehrmacht as great victories. In the severest winter cold and in the hottest summer the troops had taken great strains on themselves and had inflicted heavy blows on the enemy. They had not destroyed him. He took advantage of the great expanse of his ground and moved to the far western corner of the great empire. What remained to be done? Many things and in the most diverse fields. Aborting the warlike action was out of the question. Now we had to stand by the enterprise, however great the sacrifices demanded. The fate. Napoleon in Russia was not something Japan wanted to endure. Further occupations were necessary. The war of attrition, which the enemy also intended to wage, became more and more apparent. It was important to cut off the Chinese the last ways to the outside world, which led via Indochina to the provinces Kwangsi and Yünnan as well as from British Hind India or Burma to the province Szechuan. The "red road" from Soviet Russia via Chinese Turkestan or Outer Mongolia through Kansu was also such an outward route. The Chinese seacoast was also not yet completely sealed off. There were still hiding places where disembarkations and invitations could take place. Finally, the situation on the battle fronts themselves. There was no closed front with lines lining up. Peaks had been pushed against the enemy, who advanced far into the hinterland with guerrilla troops and disrupted the stage, also partially paralyzing the activity of the deployed pro-Japanese Chinese governments by repeatedly carrying out assassination attempts on the deployed Chinese, usually without the assassins being caught. For example, Wang Keh-min, who headed the provisional government in Beijing, narrowly escaped an assassination attempt. The Japanese officer sitting next to him in the car was shot dead. The northern front made the most united impression. However, the Japanese were not yet fully in control of Shansi Province, which was repeatedly penetrated by Chinese forces via the Hoangho. The occupation of the Lunghai Railway south of the river had not succeeded in its western part. The Peking-Hankau Railway was only partially in Japanese possession, but was repeatedly interrupted by advancing irregulars. The situation was better with the Tientsin-Pukau Railway, the entire extent of which was at the disposal of the Japanese with the feeder of the Shantung Railway from Tsingtao to

Tsinanfu built by the Germans at the time. The railroads from Shanghai to Nanking and to Hangchow were also available, while the Chekiang Railway from Kiukiang to Hangchow was not. South of the Yangtze River, the southeastern part of Anhwei Province and Chekiang and Fukien Provinces had not been entered by any Japanese soldiers at all, except for some coastal places. The provinces of Kansu, Schensi, Szechuan, Hupeh, Hunan and Kiangsi also had not yet seen any Japanese. In the latter province, only a tip of Kiukiang had advanced southward on Nandiang. Yünnan and Kwangsi also enjoyed complete untouchedness from the warlike events. Kwangtung had experienced the incursion into Canton. Hainan Island had not yet been included in the Japanese operations. The most urgent thing was probably to connect the fronts at Hankau and Canton and to take possession of the railroad from Hankau to Canton. However, this still left the great mass of land from the aforementioned railroad eastward to the sea unoccupied and at the free disposal of the enemy. The distance from Hankau to Canton is 780 kilometers as the crow flies. Between the two cities there are high mountains, over which the railroad has been passed in a technically masterly manner. After all, as early as 1927, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek had advanced from Canton to Hankau with his new national army and had covered the long, difficult distance in good time. Although the Chinese troops had been pushed to the west of the empire, the front lines had by no means shortened. Also, the Soviet-Russian border at Manchuria and Mongolia had to be kept under constant watch. Accordingly, the number of troops deployed by the Japanese so far was hardly sufficient. Reinforcements had to be called in, the young crew at home had to be combed out even more. And it had still not been decided on a joint supreme command of all fronts. Now that the Canton front in the south had been added, this supreme organization of the command posts had finally to be undertaken in European terms. Almost a whole year was to pass, however, before the decision was made in Tokyo.

No less pressing were the political issues. First of all, vis-à-vis China. Tokyo had become reasonably clear about what the program was to be. Chiang Kai-shek was rejected; they did not want to negotiate with him. But they wanted to come to a quick end. The Japanese-friendly governments were to help. Two were formed, one in Beijing, the other in Nanking. Similar to the unified supreme command, a top leadership was to be created. For the time being, there was still no suitable person to be entrusted with this important office. Several months would pass before this question was resolved in the Japanese sense. Tokyo had always rejected the idea of restoring the emperor of Manchukuo to his throne, which he had vacated in February 1912 under pressure from the revolutionaries. China was to retain its republican form of government.

After all, all these events did not take place behind a curtain, unnoticed by the world. Even though Japan had repeatedly rejected any foreign interference, it had to reckon with various powers, some of them power-political and others economic, that had inserted themselves so deeply into East Asia that it would still take hard work to eliminate these troublemakers who lent permanent support to the Chinese government. At the end of October, Prime Minister Prince Konoye handed over the post of foreign minister, which he co-administered, to Hachiro Arita, who as foreign minister in the Hirota cabinet had already pursued a policy of not antagonizing all powers. This policy gave the impression of vacillation to the outside world, and there was a danger that Japan would place itself between all the available chairs. After all, Arita was a personality who also had a good knowledge of Chinese conditions from his short time as envoy to China. As far as world political events were concerned, the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany was on his account, but it was only an ideological pact and Arita regarded it as such. Since Konoye's successor as prime minister, Hiranuma, also retained Arita as foreign minister, the foreign policy advocated by the latter was also maintained for the time being. Konoye had created a narrower five-minister conference in which the foreign minister also sat. Arita will always have to be credited with the fact that under Hi ranu ma he confronted England more energetically for

the first time with the Tientsin conflict and also fought through this conflict to a large extent. He did a good job of preparing the ground for later developments.

It has already been shown how the Japanese Cabinet had considered in detail the question of how it intended to conduct its policy toward China. In broad outline, the program was already fixed. The capture of Canton and Hankau now provided a favorable opportunity to present this program to the public. On i. November, the Cabinet held its final deliberations. After the emperor's approval was quickly granted, the government's declaration could go out to the world as early as November 2. The significance of the declaration was heightened by the fact that its publication took place on Japan's greatest national holiday, the birthday of the great Emperor Meiji.

The statement seems important enough that its main parts are reproduced verbatim. It reads:

"Relying on imperial virtue, the valiant army and navy have now conquered Canton and Hankau, thus taking possession of the most important areas of China. The national government is now only a provincial R government. If this government continues to insist on its pro-Chinese and anti-Japanese policy, Japan will continue the struggle against China until the resistance has completely collapsed. Japan's desire is to establish a new order that will help maintain perpetual peace in the Far East. The ultimate goal of the present punitive expedition also has this purpose.

The main aim of the new order to be created is for Japan, Manchukuo and China to form a united bloc hand in hand in all fields, political, economic and cultural. In doing so, it is intended to maintain international justice in the Far East and carry out the joint defense against the Comintern, create a new culture and realize an economic community. In this way, peace in the Far East is to be achieved and at the same time contribute to the peace of the world. Japan wishes China to participate in the creation of this new order in the Far East, and it expects the Chinese people to understand Japan's real intentions and to cooperate with Japan.

However, should the Chinese National Government desist from its present policy and carry out a change of personnel, thereby demonstrating its will to change and to participate in the building of the new order, the Empire of Japan is prepared not to reject it. Japan is convinced that the other states will also clearly recognize its intention and take into account the new situation in the Far East. On the other hand, Japan is filled with deep gratitude towards the powers friendly to it. The great work of creating a new order in East Asia is based on the spirit of the founding of the Japanese Empire. The completion of this task is the most honorable mission of the Japanese people. The Empire of Japan will go about fulfilling this mission in defiance of all difficulties by carrying out reforms in the country and thereby strengthening the national forces of the country. The Empire of Japan has hereby demonstrated its unshakable

guidelines and announced its final decision."

This declaration did not contain anything fundamentally new. Previously known guidelines had only been put into an official form. Essential was the adherence to the idea that Chiang Kai-shek could not be negotiated with. The reference to the personnel reshuffle referred to this.

Nadi all that was known from the other side, it was not to be assumed that the Chinese national government would meet this declaration even in the smallest degree. On the contrary. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek had already forestalled the Japanese with a message to the Chinese people on October 31. Some characteristic sentences from the message deserve to be noted.

"The main base of Chinese resistance is not in the coastal areas or along the rivers, but rather in the immense hinterland and especially in the western provinces. The main aim of the Hankau defense was to promote and protect, as far as possible, the development of the construction work in western China. It also wanted to stop the Japanese advance to the west and exhaust the enemy's fighting strength, so that in the meantime the communication routes in the west of China could be developed and the war

equipment could be concentrated, and so that furthermore all economic and industrial areas from central and southern China could be transferred to the southwest of China. May Hankau have fallen into the hands of the enemy, the enemy has thus only gained control of a deserted piece of earth and a dead city. During the elapsed 16 months of the war, China has pursued the strategy originally laid down, based on the following three main principles: 1. a prolonged resistance, 2. a national resistance on all fronts, and 3. a struggle that preserves the initiative of operations. The more ferocious the attack, the stronger our resistance, and the heavier the casualties, the more effective our power to repeat."

Here, two irreconcilable opposites faced each other. There was no sign of yielding on either side. The struggle continued. In the Japanese Cabinet the whole problem was discussed in even greater detail until, in numerous meetings between it, the army and the navy, agreement was reached on the aims and form of Japanese policy in the Far East. An official statement by Prince Konoye was now expected. On December 22, 1938, the time had come. The prince's statement has gone down in history as the Konoye Memorandum.

The Japanese press described the memorandum as a document of world-historical significance. In China, of course, it did not receive this characteristic, but was rejected like all previous statements of the Japanese government. It is nevertheless so significant for the history of the Sino-Japanese war that it should be inserted here in full. It reads:

"The Japanese Government, as explicitly stated in earlier statements, is determined to carry out military operations with a view to the complete elimination of the anti-Japanese Comintern government. At the same time Japan wants to advance in building a new order in East Asia with those far-sighted Chinese who share Japan's ideals and hopes. A spirit of renewal is sweeping over all parts of China, and enthusiasm for rebuilding is steadily increasing.

The Japanese Government now makesknownthe following 13 Mossdorf, East Asia __ the main features of its policy for the restoration of Japanese-Chinese relations, so that its intentions may be properly understood at home and abroad

Japan, China and Manchukuo will be united in the common goal of carrying out reorganization in East Asia, realizing neighborly friendship, jointly defending against communism and cooperating economically.

Therefore, it is necessary for China above all to abandon all outmoded prejudices and especially the attitude directed against Japan and Manchukuo, Japan openly wishes China to establish diplomatic relations with Manchukuo of its own free will. Since communist influence cannot be tolerated in East Asia, Japan considers it an important prerequisite of Sino-Japanese relations that an anti-communist pact be concluded between China and Japan in accordance with the Japanese-German-Italian pact.

In order to achieve the full effect of this pact, Japan, in view of the present situation and conditions in China, demands that troops be stationed in special places. This is an anti-communist measure during the term of the agreement.

Japan also demands that Inner Mongolia be established and designated as a special anti-communist zone.

As for economic relations between China and Japan, Japan does not intend to establish an economic monopoly in China. Nor does it want to require China to limit the interests of those third powers that want to understand the meaning of the new East Asia and act accordingly. Japan only wants to make the cooperation and community of the two countries effective. This means that Japan demands from China in the sense of equality between the two countries:

1. The freedom of settlement and trade of Japanese citizens in the interior of China to promote the economic relations of the two peoples
2. opportunities and facilitation for Japan to develop China's natural resources especially in North China and Inner Mongolia

These are the guidelines for what Japan expects from China. When the real objective of the great campaign is fully understood, it will also be clear that Japan is not asking for territorial possession or war compensation. Japan is only asking for a minimum guarantee that China will carry out its duties as a participant in the establishment of a new order. Japan not only respects China's sovereignty, but is also prepared to give positive consideration to all questions concerning the abolition of extraterritoriality and the return of concessions and settlements-which is essential to China's full independence."
New in the document was Japan's renunciation of territorial claims and of war compensation, but then also the demand for stationing troops in special places.
The Chinese response was made by the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry in Chungking. There, the memorandum was seen as destroying Chinese independence and integrity and slamming the open door.
When, on December 26, 1938, the Tenno opened the Diet in the usual manner for its annual session with a speech from the throne, the speech made no reference to Konoye's memorandum.
taken. Two days later, Chiang Kai-shek spoke out personally, saying that the memorandum was absolutely unacceptable to China because it meant its complete subjugation. In the meantime, an impending cabinet crisis was looming in Japan, with talk of a reshuffle to ensure unified governance.
The negotiations on the reshuffle of the cabinet were led by the president of the Privy Council of State, Baron Hiranuma. He was seen as the future prime minister, as it turned out that it would not only be a reshuffle of the cabinet, but a complete reshuffle. In fact, Prince Konoye resigned on January 4, 1939, one day before an important Cabinet Council was to deal again mainly with Konoye's memorandum.
Only now did it become clear what was meant by ensuring unified state leadership. Konoye was in agreement with the military that the creation of a unified party was necessary for the national mobilization that he had been striving for months, and that the previous party system had to be cleaned up. Here he encountered insurmountable opposition from the parties, which the activist circles, including the Minister of the Interior, Admiral Suetsugu, wanted to eliminate by dissolving the Diet.
Subsequent developments have shown that Konoye did not consider the time ripe to carry out his reform plans. This may have been the innermost reason for his renunciation, perhaps with the personal conviction that he would be summoned again by the emperor at a more suitable time, as was then actually the case. This is also how one can interpret the explanation he gave when he resigned to justify it. He said that he had often feared that his abilities were not up to the seriousness of the situation created by the China War.
He was succeeded by the 73-year-old Hiranuma, who had always been considered the leader of radical nationalist circles. He was succeeded by Konoye as minister without portfolio, who also took over Hiranuma's post as president of the Privy Council of State.
Before discussing the further military events from the capture of Hankau to the fall of the first Konoye cabinet, the continuing attempted interference of the Anglo-Saxon powers, mostly led by America, requires brief mention. A never-ending war of notes was waged on both sides, with the number of arrivals being precisely recorded, as in the incidents on the Manchurian border. In America, there was talk of 800 such notes having been addressed to Japan in the course of time. Of these, however, only half had been settled.
Immediately after the announcement of the capture of Hankau by the Japanese, the French government contacted the British to take measures to protect their concessions. Once again, the colonial character imposed on China by the powers was shown in the fullest light. And already the French and English gunboats lying on the Yangtze were ordered to stand by. England put 100 sea soldiers ashore in Hankau.
It was not surprising when the English gunboat "Sandpiper" was hit by four Japanese bombs as it entered the battle line. Then America came forward and demanded that Japan cease all discrimination against American trade in China. America even threatened to retaliate against trade with Japan. Japan,

for its part, had complaints to make to France. They related to the transit of war materials through Indochina to Chungking. Against America's interference, it was made clear in Tokyo that any sanctions America might take against Japan, for example, would act like a boomerang, since America imported more from Japan than Japan received from America. Moreover, Japan would receive everything necessary from the conquered territories in China. Now England took America's side. Under Secretary Butler declared in the House of Commons that there could be no change in the treaties concerning China. Just as the American government had acted on the basis of the "open door" policy, so England had protested in the same spirit in Japan. For the first time there was word of financial aid which England intended to give to China. Secretary of State Hüll announced at the same time that America had raised representations in Tokyo because of the restriction of navigation on the Yangtze. This happened at a time when Japan was engaged in the most serious struggle on this river. The Americans wanted to go for a ride and do business there!

To the American note Tokyo replied on November 18, 1938, and came out in conclusion with the statement that, in view of developments in the Far East, it would not be in the interest of the preservation of peace to attempt to apply thoughts and principles of the past to facts of today and tomorrow. On this premise, Japan had no objection to the cooperation of the United States and other powers in the great work of building a new East Asia. A very clever formulation which, without further designation, described the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington as obsolete. Japan's reply note to the American protest over navigation on the Yangtze was considered unsatisfactory by America and subsequently by England. Japan had very correctly pointed out that military necessities had priority. On November 29, it was England's turn again. It protested about the Japanese border violation during Japan's advance on Canton opposite Kaulun. To bolster America, England assured Washington on December 12 that it was prepared to take trade reprisals against Japan if America used such measures. France was brought into the conspiracy and informed of England's communication to America on the assumption that France would be in on the action if necessary. Shortly thereafter, America decided to extend a $25 million purchase credit to China. England was somewhat more cautious. The risk seemed too great. So it was initially only prepared to open a loan of 450000 pounds to Chiang Kai-shek. In Konoye's memorandum, America particularly disliked the prospect of the abolition of extraterritorial rights in China. England's loan was intended for the extension of the Burma road and for the purchase of trucks to transport war materials on the road to Chung- king. In America, a special company, the Universal Trading Co. had been formed to promote exports to China. It initially delivered a thousand trucks to China, which were also to be used on the Burma Road. It was the first large order under the American 25-mil credit.

Japan grabbed on at another point. There was talk of the Japanese military authorities tightening control over French and British concessions in Tientsin. The entrances were barricaded with barbed wire and were closed to traffic at 10 pm. The Japanese justified their action by claiming that anti-Japanese and communist elements had taken shelter in the concessions. It was not until the last day of 1938 that the Americans found their way back to Konoye's memorandum. Once again, a note was sent to Tokyo in which America spoke out against the reorganization of East Asia. Washington was well aware of the changed conditions in East Asia, but noted that it did not agree with the one-sided treatment of the Chinese problems. England had been informed by America of the contents of the note before it was delivered, but in this case declined to take the same step because England's ambassador was already in negotiations with the Japanese government. However, it was emphasized that England was in complete agreement with America's ideas. After Konoye's resignation, it was up to Hiranuma to stand up to the constant tapping of England and America.

Little can be said about the military events during this period. On the southern front in the Canton area, the Japanese continued their advance northward toward Yingtak and on October 31 were close to the city, which lies 110 kilometers north of Canton. On the other hand, a Japanese advance northwest along the West River was expected to occupy the town of Wuchow in the territory of Kwangsi Province. The supreme command on the Chinese side had been given to the previous governor of Kwangtung, General Lu Teh-chen, who urged the population to fight with all means against the Japanese.
In addition to the scorched-earth tactic that had been used by the Chinese up to that time, the "hold-back initiative" was now recommended, i.e. the troops were to retreat voluntarily while maintaining their own initiative without the enemy being able to act on it. Only later did the rubber-band tactic emerge, in which troops were required to make short advances but withdraw as soon as the enemy counterattacked. In any case, defense was chosen by the Chinese as a strategic maneuver. There was no talk of offensive operations on a larger scale. From the Yangtze, two Japanese columns strove southward, once from Hankau to Changcha, the capital of Hunan, and from Kiukiang to Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi. In the fighting toward Nanchang, the Chinese had led the defense of the Lushan Mountains with particular fierceness. After weeks, when the Japanese had broken the enemy's resistance, they had to face a long list of casualties. On November 2, the Japanese made a new landing at the village of Futsin, with 32 warships covering the landing. No resistance was offered, but the population immediately fled en masse to the interior of the country. Futsin is the seaport of Fukien Province's capital, Fuchau, 50 kilometers inland, with a population of 320,000. Foreign Minister Arita sent a detailed note to foreign mission chiefs in Tokyo on November 7, stating that military operations would now be extended into western China and that the provinces of Shensi, Hupeh, Hunan, and Kwangsi would become combat zones in the near future. This announcement was made to warn nationals of foreign countries to move into the danger zone. Another measure taken by the Japanese government was in the economic field. Two companies were set up for economic development in North and Central China, the North China Development Company under former Minister of Overseas Affairs Ohtani, and the Central China Development Company under former Governor of the Yokohama Specie Bank Kodama, the former with a capital of 350 million, the latter of 100 million yen.
In the Canton area, operations did not develop in favor of the Japanese, as the Chinese took the counteroffensive and pushed the Japanese back step by step. In contrast, progress was steady on the Yangtze River. On November 11, the town of Yochow on the south bend of the Yangtze was occupied. It was now 128 kilometers to Changcha. Units of the Japanese fleet were able to enter the great Tungting Lake. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek transferred command of the 4th Army in the south to War Minister Ho Ying-chin, who had always been considered an able leader. His chief of staff, General Pai Chung-si, had also made a name for himself. Already the results of this change of command were showing, as the Chinese advanced as far as Tsungfa, north of Canton.
Command changes were made by the Japanese in the highest leadership positions. On November 17, 1938, the commander-in-chief of the Northern Front, Colonel General Terauchi, was recalled. He was replaced by Minister of War Sugiyama. A day later, the commander-in-chief in the south, Colonel General Furushu, received the blue letter. His resignation was justified by health considerations. He was replaced by General Ando. The city of Changcha met a heavy fate. The Chinese troops defended the ideas of the city, 80 kilometers northeast of the city in mountainous terrain, very tenaciously. Suddenly, the whole city flared up and burned out completely in seven days, leaving only a smoking pile of rubble. The authorities in charge had taken the scorched earth tactic all too literally. Chiang Kai-shek was outraged by their actions and had the garrison commander, General Fong-ti, the chief of the gendarmerie and the chief of the police shot because they had not only set fire to the city but also to militarily important buildings and installations, overstepping their orders far too soon. General Fong-ti

had previously been military attaché in Berlin. To the great surprise of the Chinese, the Japanese suddenly stopped their advance on Changcha on November 23, and even went back north toward Yochow. Thus the burning of Changcha proved even more superfluous. Also, the Japanese minesweepers were withdrawn from Lake Tungting. The reasons for this action were not apparent at first. In southern Shansi, the ongoing fighting would not come to a halt. On the Chinese side, it was not only freebooters who were involved, but active troops, such as the 117th Division, which had a sharp skirmish with the Japanese at Lintsin. On the other fronts, too, the Chinese forces that had been left behind gave the Japanese a lot of trouble. This was the case in the Canton area, but also on the Central China Front, where 80,000 Chinese were still holding in the Ta Pieh Mountains. The activity of the irregulars was also very much felt in the Shanghai-Hanchow-Wuhu triangle of cities, and likewise west of the Tientsin-Pukau railroad. It could not fail that the main operations were disturbed by the cleanup work of the Japanese in the rear. In Shanghai itself, the ground was unsettled. There, in late November, General Chu Kuo-ping was shot dead in the open street. He had made a name for himself as a defender of the Woosung Forts early in the war. On November 30, Colonel General Sugiyama arrived in Beijing and assumed command of the Northern Front. The Central China Front also received a new commander in chief in the person of the previous commander of troops in Manchukuo, Colonel General Yamada. A somewhat strange step was taken by the commander-in-chief of the Southern Front, General Ando. He addressed an open letter to Chiang Kai-shek, urging him to finally abandon his tactics of retreat and stand for battle.

At the end of 1938, an official statement was issued by the Japanese army command on the losses in the first 17 months of the war, which stated the following: Japanese losses 47,133 casualties. On the Chinese side, 823,300 casualties were counted, of which 81,000 fell at Shanghai, 83,000 at Nanking, 123,000 at the battle of Hsüchowfu, 99,000 in northern China, and 195,000 at the battle of Hankau. The spoils of war were: 208,000 rifles, 11,000 machine guns, 12,000 swords, 680 field and mountain guns, 1,200 trench mortars, 560 armored cars and trucks, 2,200 railroad cars, 136,000,000 rounds of rifle ammunition, 2,300,000 hand grenades, 8,718,000 grenades, 1,718,000 trench mines, and more. During the above period, seven provinces were completely occupied: Chahar, Suiyuan, Hopeh, Shantung, Shansi, Kiangsu and Anhwei, also large parts of Honan and parts of Chekiang, Kiangsi and Kwangtung, in total an area of 1515,700 square kilometers or 47 percent of the entire Chinese territory with a population of 170 million people.

e) Wang Ching-wei

Prince Konoye's memorandum did not lose its value for Japanese politics in the period that followed. It remained the fundamental document with its three main demands for subsequent cabinets as well. Japan is the land of short-lived cabinets. If Prince Konoye was able to be in office with his first cabinet for over a year and five months, that was already an unusually long time. Yet the time had already passed for a number of years when party men headed the cabinets. The first prime minister of this kind had been Hara, who headed the government immediately after the World War but fell victim to a revolver attack at Tokyo Station in November 1921. The last prime minister as a party man was Inukai, who met the same fate in May 1932, when coup plotters broke into his apartment and killed him with revolver shots. After him, there were no more party-linked prime ministers. Their election was based on personal ability after consultation between the Keeper of the Seals, Yuasa, and the last member of the Genro, the Council of Elder Statesmen, Prince Saionji. Most often, the cabinets fell over foreign policy issues, but domestic issues could also bring about the end. At first, the Japanese press usually received the new prime minister with hymns of praise as the man the difficult times required. And likewise, it poured out on him the bowl of wrath when he left. Then there was a regular cry for a strong man who would finally be able to steer the ship of state through the whirlpools of crisis here and there. Above all, the

military circles, which had reserved their veto in a particularly striking manner, had a weighty say. They had only to declare that the army could not provide a senior officer as minister of war, and the cabinet did not come into being unless the Tenno personally designated a general. This order could not be contradicted.

The Hiranuma Cabinet resigned when Germany concluded the pact with Soviet Russia on August 23, 1939. The context of this will be discussed later. Foreign Minister Arita was concerned not to spoil things with England and America, even though he spoke of strengthening Japan's relations with the European Axis powers, Germany and Italy, since until then there had only been ideological ties. Toward England, he achieved a success not to be underestimated, which was also transferred to France and America. This success consisted in the fact that England, after negotiations of its Ambassador Sir Robert Craigie with the Deputy Foreign Minister Kensuke Horinouchi, agreed to accept the formula proposed by Japan for the administration of customs duties collected in the treaty ports. As long as hostilities continued in China, customs revenues in Japanese-occupied ports were to be deposited in the Yokohama Specie Bank. Japan undertook to pay out of these customs revenues to the Inspector General of Customs the amounts due for China's foreign borrowings, as a pre-authorized quota. Only then were the funds to be used for the customs administration itself. The Tientsin conflict, which also became a Japanese success, will have to be discussed in another context.

The two cabinets that followed Hiranuma can be seen as transitional, both that of General Abe and that of Admiral Yonai. A certain amount of idleness occurred. However, Admiral Yonai brought to a conclusion an issue that had been awaiting resolution for a long time. On March 30, 1940, the Japanese-backed Chinese government of Wang Ching-wei took office in Nanking.

Before saying more about this, a few words about Abe and Yonai. General Abe's cabinet was ready on August 30. Abe initially took over the Foreign Ministry himself until he found the right man in Admiral Nomura on September 23. With the outbreak of the European war, Japan did not make the usual declaration of neutrality, but merely expressed the wish that Japan would not become involved in the war. This gave rise to Japan's chosen "noninvolvement policy." Abe had retired from service as a member of the Supreme War Council on February 26, 1936, when the serious officer coup occurred in Tokyo. A tightening of relations with America occurred when the latter terminated the 1911 trade treaty with Japan on July 27, 1939, which then expired after six months in January 1940. Abe also followed the principle of ending the China War as soon as possible without making any headway. He demanded that the powers withdraw their troops from China and was fortunate in that the British first reduced their gunboat flotilla on the Yangtze by half under pressure from the European war and the French proceeded in a similar manner. America did not budge on this demand. Under Abe, the Japanese currency also broke away from the British pound and attached itself to the American dollar. A very peculiar stirring of discontent, unprecedented in Japan's history, occurred at the Foreign Office on October 12, 1939, when, led by the chief of the Information Bureau, Ministerial Director Kawai, 120 officials demanded their departure. The Ministry of Economics wanted to create a special economic council to which the trade attaches of the Foreign Office would also be subordinated. This was revolted against and with success. The Abe Cabinet had to fight through a very serious conflict with Soviet Russia with the fighting on the Mongolian border near Nomonhan. This, too, needs special mention. Thereafter, under Abe's premiership, Japan experienced a substantial improvement in relations with Soviet Russia. Abe would very much have liked to bring about the new Chinese government. Its installation was to take place in November 1939, but had to be postponed again and again. In contrast, Abe succeeded in taking a step in the domestic political arena by obtaining from the emperor expanded powers as prime minister to issue direct instructions to ministerial departments and prefects to carry out governmental measures. Abe's overthrow came about in a very strange way, in the interval between the

Tenno's official opening of parliament in December 1939 and the start of parliamentary proceedings in January 1940. 276 of 406 deputies from all parties sat down and voted in favor of a vote of no confidence in Abe. The resolution presented to Abe by 16 of these deputies was worded as follows: "In view of the heavy responsibility imposed upon us in supporting the throne in the conduct of the great affairs of state, we ask the Abe Cabinet to consider the question whether or not to remain in power." General Abe was not inclined to heed this request to resign. It was not until the Army had War Minister Hata declare on January 10, 1940, that the Cabinet's position was untenable that the overall mission took place on January 15. And again the cry for the strong man rang out.

Even then, the return of Prince Konoye was expected. But the choice fell on Admiral Yonai, the naval minister of the previous cabinet. Was he the expected strong man? Hardly. In July 1940, he too had to give way, and now Konoye could take the helm for the second time. Admiral Yonai was a veteran in cabinet matters. He had already been Minister of the Navy in the cabinet of General Hayashi, which preceded Konoye's first cabinet, and was taken over by Konoye in the same position, only to relinquish his post to Admiral Yoshida in the Abe cabinet. Yonai, as I said, succeeded in a deed that will be forever associated with his name: on March 30, 1940, the Chinese government of Wang Ching- wei could be launched in Nanking. It was a curiosity that Yonai commanded his predecessor as prime minister, General Abe, to Nanking as a special ambassador to conduct treaty negotiations with Wang Ching-wei.

And now for Wang Ching-wei! The Japanese had long been looking for a representative Chinese personality whom they could place at the head of their Chinese government. The offer was not tempting, since personalities who made themselves available for this purpose were no longer sure of their lives from the very beginning, since they were constantly threatened by assassination attempts. In November 1939, the Japanese thought they had found a suitable man in Marshal Wu Pei-fu, the old fighter from the time of the general battles in China, who was spending his old days in seclusion in Beijing. It was also managed that he was roused from his rest and stepped in front of the microphone. However, he only gave a speech that was based on hopes for peace in China in the near future. This candidate failed completely. He then lived only a few more months and was buried with great pomp in Beijing.

Surprisingly, after this failure, a man who had a name in China offered himself: Wang Ching-wei. He belonged to the most trusted circle of men around Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and was

Wang had been prime minister until Chiang Kai-shek united all power in his hands after the fall of Hankau and took over the post of prime minister in addition to that of generalissimo. In November 1938, Wang began to slowly separate from Chiang. This was already happening under the influence of the program for the China War drawn up by the Japanese Cabinet, which was then clearly outlined in the Konoye Memorandum of December 22, 1938. It may be that Wang acted out of personal ambition. The Japanese interpreted his actions to mean that he could no longer bear to see the Chinese people disturbed into the abyss of misery. At first, Wang spoke out against the "scorched earth policy," although he was considered the real originator of this policy, which destroys everything that can be of use to the enemy during the retreat.

In December, Wang left Chungking with his family and went first to Hanoi in French Indochina, arriving on the 20th. Some senior officials followed his example. At the time, it was said that Wang was to travel to Europe on Chiang's behalf in order to win over the powers to China's cause. Only later did it turn out that Wang had cut the tablecloth between himself and Chiang. To camouflage his escape, he explained that he needed to recover after the revolver assassination attempt on him in 1935, from which he still carried a bullet in his back. In early March 1939, Chiang was still letting his former confidant in exile know that he might be going on an extended trip abroad. Wang now dropped the mask and

replied that he would devote all his attention to the peaceful resolution of the Sino-Japanese conflict. In the same month, he escaped a revolver assassination near Hanoi by acting quickly to escape the assassins through an underground passage. In contrast, former Vice Foreign Minister Cheng Chung-ming and his wife and another companion were seriously injured. Cheng was shot three times in the abdomen and died the following night.

From Hanoi, Wang left for Hong Kong, and from there he addressed a memorandum to Chiang and the members of the government. It said that after careful consideration he had come to the conclusion that the Chinese government should open an exchange of views with Japan on the restoration of peace on the basis of Konoye's three points of the program. He made the addition that peace would not be possible until the Japanese troops were completely withdrawn from Chinese soil. In Chungking, Wang was called a high traitor. A paper in Shanghai wrote that he had committed moral hara-kiri. That Japanese General Doihara had conferred with Wang in Hong Kong was alleged but could not be proved. Wang was stripped of all his offices and a warrant was issued for his arrest.

The Japanese government did not initially identify with Wang's actions. In early March, Foreign Minister Arita still declared in the House of Representatives that the Japanese government had nothing to do with Wang's December 1938 statement. This position was soon abandoned. In June 1939, Wang appeared in Tokyo in person and had a discussion with Prime Minister Hiranuma about his plans. Now developments seemed to be proceeding more rapidly. The Japanese government openly backed Wang and had the Foreign Office spokesman, Suma, declare that Japan would give every support to the establishment of the new central government in China. The new regime in China, he said, was the most important task of Japanese state policy, behind which all other questions had to take a back seat, especially the debates planned with England and America. The formation of the new government in China was announced somewhat prematurely for November i, 1939. However, it was believed to be justified because .Wang had participated in Nanking with the representatives of the provisional governments in Peking and Nanking at the sixth meeting of the united committees of these governments. In Peking Wang Keh-min headed the enforcement committee of the government there, and in Nanking likewise Liang Hung-shih. The Japanese military also backed Wang, thus sanctioning his action from the most decisive place, so to speak. The Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces in China, Lieutenant General Itagaki, conferred himself with Wang, who then received a deputation of young Japanese officers who solemnly assured him of their moral support in his effort to form a new central government. Japanese consular officials in China similarly negotiated with Wang directly.

The fruit had not yet ripened. On November 10, Wang again negotiated with the two heads of government in Beijing and Nanking, this time in Tsingtau. The Organizing Committee of the new government was convened at the same time. It was composed of one-third representatives of the Nanking government, one-third of the Beijing government, and the final third of delegates from the Mongolian Autonomous Government, headed by Prince Teh Wang. Wang Ching-wei had a special advocate in Prince Konoye, who declared that Wang owned the mantle of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Kuomintang or People's Party. On November 22, in a meeting with members of the press, Wang spoke at length about the proposed new government but could not yet specify when it would be constituted. He said that China could never win the conflict with Japan, but that Japan could never be the undisputed victor. Both countries would have to make sacrifices for understanding. The form of government should not be that of a confederation, but should become a unity government, that is, with a special political council and certain special rights. Recognition by third powers would be welcomed. A planned economy was to be introduced. The great difficulties would be overcome by joining forces with Japan. On November 23, Wang addressed 30 senior Japanese officers and stressed that Konoye's three principles would form the backbone of a greater Asia. On December 9, 1939, the

Cadet School in Shanghai was opened for the officer candidates of the new China. The honorary presidency was held by Wang. The head of the school became General Yeh Peng, formerly commander-in-chief of the Chinese armed forces in the Wuhan (Han- kau) area.
January 1940 came, and on the 5th of that month, at a meeting of the War Ministry and the General Staff in Tokyo, the guidelines for the establishment of the new central government in China, which Wang had agreed upon in Shanghai with representatives of the Japanese Chinese authorities, were approved. On January 8, the Japanese Cabinet approved them. At the same time, the Premier reported the decisions to the Emperor.
January 9 became a significant date when the whole question took on an international character, with the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, sending a telegram to Wang wishing him luck on the imminent establishment of the new central government. Italy, however, remained alone in this manifestation.
The December 30, 1939 agreement between Wang and the Japanese government did not remain secret, as intended, but became known to the world through the Chungking camp. It was a voluminous document, dealing first with the fundamental principles of China's relations with Japan: friendly neighborliness, mutual defense, and economic cooperation. In addition, there were many individual issues.
The armed forces of Beijing and Nanking were combined into a joint military force as a national defense army. The Nanking government formed seven pacification corps for this purpose. A river flotilla was to be created on the lower Yangtze. Two warships, "Heitsing" and "Haisui", as well as two gunboats were planned as regular units.
Wang now called sidi chairman of the Central Enforcement Council of the orthodox Kuomintang Party. On January 17, 1940, he tried to change Chiang Kai-shek's mind by writing an open letter to him. It said: "It is unnecessary to state that the Chinese people wish to see the Japanese armies withdrawn from Chinese territory, just as it is clear, on the other hand, that Japan has no desire to leave her forces in China a moment longer than is unavoidably necessary. However, the question of evacuation by the Japanese troops cannot be tackled under any circumstances as long as you continue to resist Japan ... If you care for the future of the state and the lives of the people, if you are determined, on the basis of the Konoye Declaration, to conclude an arms treaty with the Japanese, then you must be prepared to do so.
If you do not want to break the deadlock, I and my staff are ready to work with you to bring about peace for the people and the nation. The heavy responsibility resting on your shoulders makes the Chinese people expect a lot from you." There was no reply to this letter.
Again, the men in charge went to a conference in Tsingtau to make the final decisions on the formation of the new government. On January 23, it was decided that the government would be called the "National Government of the Republic of China." Nanking became the capital. The old Kuomintang flag was to remain Chinese national flag. The guiding principles were to be: Cooperation with Japan and promotion of Far Eastern peace. A new Central Political Council was to be formed from members of the Kuomintang, the provisional Peking government, the Nanking renewal government, and from the Mongolian government. A committee of eleven was entrusted with further elaboration.
On March 30, 1940, the solemn moment had arrived: the installation of the new Chinese national government under Wang Ching- wei took place in Nanking. The ceremony lasted only twenty minutes, but was introduced with gun salutes, the singing of the national anthem, and the flying of the Kuomintang flag with the yellow angle set above it, bearing the inscription: "For peace and reconstruction". Then, as on solemn occasions of the old national government, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's testament was read, followed by the government's proclamation. It had taken a lot of work and sweat to

get to this point. Hundreds of conferences, thousands of consultations, tens of thousands of persuasions and influences in China and Japan had been necessary before Wang Ching-wei could proclaim the dissolution of the provisional governments, granting autonomy to the northern provinces to a large extent. The program indicated in the proclamation was only sketched out in broad outline. It took as its starting point the Konoye Memorandum and pointed to the need for national unification. A constitutional government was to be established and a national congress convened. Relief measures were in prospect for taxpayers and peasants. The rights and interests of third powers were to be respected. Cooperation with foreign capital was not rejected. The position of the Japanese in the new China remained unclear. Nothing was said about the stationing of Japanese troops.

The Japanese government's message on the formation of the new government was brief. It referred at the outset to Japan's belief in a dynamic shaping of world history. After the congratulations, a promise was made that Japan would support the new government in every way. The understanding of the foreign powers for the reorganization of East Asia was counted on, but at the end it was emphatically emphasized that Japan was determined to overcome, even with arms, all the obstacles that stood in the way of its plans. Thus the recognition of Japan was pronounced. America was in a great hurry to have Secretary of State Hüll officially declare as early as March 31 that America would continue to recognize the Chungking government, not the Nanking government. Japan replied that it had expected more patience from America in further developments in China. Japan still hoped for a better understanding from America, but would not become impatient on its part. Former Japanese Prime Minister General Abe went to Nanking as special envoy to negotiate the basis of cooperation with the new government as plenipotentiary of the Japanese government.

And Chungking? From there a very massive reply was given to the new creation: "It is needless to say that those who make up the puppet organization are a group of slaves of the Japanese who no longer possess morals and have no sense of decency and love of country. They endanger their own fatherland and abet the Japanese attack. They are therefore condemned by the Chinese government and people as the worst kind of traitors who must face the heaviest legal punishment.... Whatever Japan may try to do later, the Chinese Government and people are more determined than ever to continue their resistance until the Japanese aggressors are completely driven out of Chinese territory and right will have defeated might."

The new government was modeled on the organization of the old Nanking government, with five imperial offices: the Enforcement Council, Legislative Council, Judicial Council, Control Council, and Audit Council. Wang Ching-wei headed the Enforcement Council and was also president of the government. This personal union was not known to the old Nanking government, which introduced a special president in the person of Lin Sen. The two presidents of the previous provisional governments were also accommodated. Liang Hung-chih, who had resided in Nanking, became president of the Control Council, while Wang Keh-min remained in Beijing and became chairman of the Hopeh Political Affairs Commission. He remained in this post for only a short time, which he then relinquished to Wang I-tang. In April, Wang Ching-wei presented himself first in Beijing, then in Kalgan to the autonomous government of Mongolia. From there he flew to Canton to campaign for the new government. From there, he returned to Nanking.

On April 23, 1940, General Abe arrived in Nanking. On April 26, two-day celebrations began on the occasion of the return of the National Government to Nanking, as expressed in the Wang Ching-wei government. On May 22, 22 members of the new government arrived in Japan for a visit to express close Sino-Japanese cooperation. General Abe did not rush his mission. It was not until July 5 that he began his negotiations in Nanking on a basic agreement between Japan and the new government in

China. Japan sought an alliance treaty with Nanking similar to the one signed between Japan and Mandschukuo on Sept. 15, 1932.

f) Nomonhan

The events described in the previous section were interspersed with a military incident far behind the Sino-Japanese front, which occupied the world press for weeks as the Nomonhan Incident. The incident took place in northwestern Manchuria, where Manchuria and Outer Mongolia border on each other, in the immediate vicinity of the tri-border area, where Inner Mongolia is added to these two areas. Until then, the name Nomonhan was familiar only to explorers of the inner regions of Asia, when they started their march from the east through the Gobi or returned to civilization in the east after tremendous hardships from the west. Nomonhan is an insignificant Mongolian town, if you want to call it that, in the Mongolian pastureland, and can only be reached through trackless grassland from the last foothills of inhabited areas. If one uses the railroad from Harbin to the Russian border, the last major town before the border town of Mandiuli is Hailar. From it, about 180 kilometers southwest and about 70 kilometers east of Lake Buirnor, lies Nomonhan. In a southeasterly direction, after about 200 kilometers, one encounters the temporary terminus of the branch line of the South Manchurian Railway, which runs from Hsinking via Solun to Halunarshan. A few kilometers west of Nomonhan flows the Halahar River, which was considered to be the border between Outer Mongolia and Manchuria, although a precise definition never took place. In that area, the last border incident had occurred in 1934. The Mongolian nomads did not adhere to any border lines, but drove their cattle to pasture on this side and on the other. In the rainy season, the land on both sides of the Halahar turns into impassable swamp.

There is no doubt that the hostilities in that weather corner were triggered by an advance from the Mongolian side and that the Japanese-Manchurian defense consisted only in driving back the Mongolian-Soviet-Russian detachments that had crossed the border in battles of larger scale. There is no absolute clarity about the motives of the Mongol advance. From the Red Army of the Far East, General Luzhkov had deserted to Manchuria, which resulted in the army being reorganized from the ground up. Similarly, Captain Dinbajap departed from the Mongolian Army, which was under Soviet Russian control. As a result, the army there was also reorganized. In addition, efforts to shake off Soviet domination were gaining ground in Outer Mongolia. A revolt was discovered early on, and a number of Manchurian border, while new forces were moving in from Soviet Russia. The fact that the border incident arose out of this garrison transfer is often associated with larger contexts that relate to England's efforts to draw Soviet Russia into the ring against Germany. However, this line of evidence is so vague that it should not be elaborated upon. It has been inferred that Soviet Russia was to start a relief effort for China in connection with the 1937 treaty concluded with China. In fact, Japan was forced to deploy stronger forces when the incident assumed greater proportions. Observers on the ground reportedly noted that the final fighting involved several Japanese divisions reinforced by Manchurian contingents and about 700 aircraft. Japan had sufficiently strong forces in north Manchuria that it was not necessary to withdraw forces from the main fronts in China. And now the course!

On May 11, 1939, stronger Mongol formations, infantry and mechanized detachments, advanced east across the border and immediately encountered strong defenses. The clash ended with the attackers being driven back across the border. In the air, both Mongolian and Soviet Russian aircraft had made their presence felt. On May 12, Mongol cavalry tried an advance but was also repulsed. Advances by Mongol detachments occurred again in the following days until the Mongols moved to a stronger attack on May 21. About 400 men were involved, escorted in the air by aircraft. On May 22, the advances were repeated, but now spread from the southwest to the northwest of Nomonhan. On May 24, the same spectacle, always concluded with a successful counterattack by the Japanese. The Japanese air force rapidly gained dominance in the air. Seventeen enemy planes were shot down by it in the period from

May 20 to 27. All of them were Soviet Russian types. These defeats in the air, repeated almost daily, did not deter the Mongols from resuming their attacks on the ground. They came in greater numbers and now brought artillery into the fray. Ten guns were counted. Armored cars also proceeded through the riverbed against the Japanese positions. The first part of the incident ended with a complete defeat of the Mongols, who left several hundred casualties on the battlefield.

In mid-June, the Mongols hoped to wipe the slate clean and launched a new offensive on the afternoon of June 22. In two advances by the Mongolian air force near the village of Kunjur-miao, 46 planes were engaged once, then about 100. The Japanese planes accepted the challenge and brought down 56 enemy planes. These mid-air clashes were repeated over the next few days. Eventually, the Japanese were able to claim 72 kills. More kills were added through June 27. On land, the Japanese had lured the Mongols into Manchurian territory and began a well-prepared counterattack on July 2. The operation was designed to envelop the Mongols in their positions from the north and south and drive them back across the border on July 7. After this failure, the Mongols moved long guns into position on their territory on hills that protruded little from the plain and shelled the new Japanese positions. Enemy armored cars attempted advances that were easily repulsed. On July 23, the Mongols attempted a final strong advance with about 2,000 infantry and escort guns, including airborne. The Japanese had anticipated the attack and smashed it with their artillery. Then their infantry went forward and completed the victory with a complete defeat of the enemy. From July 27 there were no more major clashes. The two fronts lay watching each other on both sides of the Halahar River, that is, in the initial positions of the incident. During the period from June 22 to July 25, the Japanese shot down 715 of 1100 to 1200 enemy planes engaged, i.e., the Japanese "wild eagles," as they proudly called themselves, finished off 60 to 70 percent of the enemy air force. Enemy losses on land were also substantial, but impossible to determine precisely in terms of numbers. The Japanese claim to have counted about 3000 fallen opponents. Armored cars and other motorized vehicles shot up were given as 520. Over 100 armored cars, more than ten heavy guns, and many other weapons were captured by the Japanese. The Japanese gave their own losses as 18,000 men killed, wounded, and sick. The defeat inflicted on the Mongols was obvious. In any case, both sides did not skimp on the use of modern weapons. The outcome of the battles, however insignificant they may have been for the course of the great events, nevertheless allows a conclusion to be drawn about the value of the troops involved. In the front line there were mainly Soviet troops. The Mongols were mainly used for transport purposes and in the stage.

If, as mentioned, the considerations made for the beginning of the incident cannot be proved from larger contexts, it is certain, on the other hand, that the conclusion of the fighting is due to larger European processes. This will have to be discussed later. The initial Japanese protests in Moscow had been followed by negotiations in Moscow in September, which resulted in an agreement on September 15 between Foreign Commissioner Molotov and Japanese Ambassador Togo that brought the fighting on the Mongolian border to a peaceful end. Article i stated that the Japanese-Manchurian and Soviet-Mongolian troops were to cease all hostilities at 2 a.m. Moscow time on September 16. They were to remain on the captured lines. The prisoners and dead were to be exchanged. A commission of both parties was to meet as soon as possible to fix the boundary between Outer Mongolia and Manchuria. At the same time it was agreed that the Soviet Russian chargé d'affaires in Tokyo, Sme- tanin, should be appointed ambassador to restore normal relations between Japan and Soviet Russia. On September 16, Japanese and Soviet Russian officers met between the fronts and agreed to cease fighting. The Japanese dispatched Lieutenant Colonel Tanaka, the Soviets Major General Potapov.

One will not offend the Japanese by saying that they breathed a sigh of relief when peace was restored on the Mongolian border. One can refer to War Minister Hata, who welcomed the agreement with Moscow as a first step toward settling pending issues between the two countries. At the same time, he

said, there was an opportunity to unite all forces on the China conflict. Moscow reached an agreement to set up a boundary-setting commission, first in Chita and then in Harbin. In Chita the consultations began on December 7, 1939. 12 representatives from both parties were present on the opening day, as leaders of Japan and Manchukuo Kameyama and Kubota, from the Soviet side Major General Bogdanov and Yamssaron. Over the course of eight meetings, the groundwork was laid for an agreement that would take final shape in Harbin on January 7, 1940. The improvement in Japan's relations with Soviet Russia was further emphasized by the signing in Moscow on December 31 between Molotov and Togo of a tentative agreement on the fisheries question which was to run until the end of 1940. At the same time, an agreement was reached on the payment of the final installment for the sale of the East China Railroad. On January 4, 1940, this payment of 5.8 million yen was made by the Manchurian government to the account of the Soviet Russian Embassy in Tokyo. In contrast, no agreement was reached in Harbin. After 16 meetings, the conference broke up without results on January 30. Further handling was left to diplomacy and transferred back to Moscow. At the March 29 meeting of the Supreme Soviet Council in Moscow, Foreign Minister Molotov stated that he could not express much satisfaction over relations with Japan, referring to the unresolved question of border settlement on the Mongolian frontier. It seemed all the more surprising that on June 10 an agreement was reached on this question, where no one had actually expected success.

g) Tientsin

Inserted into the events described above was another conflict that had arisen in the northern Chinese city of Tientsin. Tientsin, which had initially served as the headquarters of the Japanese High Command on the Northern Front before it moved its headquarters to Beijing, had suffered considerably in its outskirts, especially in the area of the Chinese War College. The war school had been hit several times by artillery shells and remained in the state of a ruined house, even though it was possible to climb the stairs that had been taken away.

15 Mossdorf, East Asia to get to the roof, from where there was a good panoramic view of the 1937 battlefield. The conflict arose in February 1939 when the Japanese discovered that four Chinese terrorists wanted for political assassinations were hiding in the British concession. Japan demanded the surrender of the four men, which was refused. The concession was then besieged by the Japanese and surrounded by a wire fence charged with electricity, against which many a Chinese coolie met his death later when he tried to smuggle food to the surrounded British, bypassing the Japanese guard. The commander at Tientsin was General Homma. It must have been noticeable that he applied the strict measures against the English because, according to competent sources, he was considered a friend of England. The explanation was that the younger Japanese officers had led the general to take such harsh action against the English. The control over the English was getting tighter and tighter. Very rigorous strip searches, even of English women, were carried out, and food supplies were at times almost completely cut off. The reaction of the foreign powers was limited to the delivery of protest notes to the Japanese, which left them completely cold. In addition to the first demand for the surrender of the assassins, there was a second one concerning the surrender of the Chinese silver money accumulated in the English concession. On February 28, the English Consul General in Tientsin, Major Guy Herbert, lodged the first protest. On March 4, he repeated his protest. On the same day, the British and French ambassadors in Tokyo protested to Foreign Minister Arita. On March 6, Consul General Herbert went to General Homma and negotiated with him without receiving a formal reply. On March 7, America, England, and France joined forces and presented a second identical protest to Foreign Minister Arita in Tokyo over the electrically charged wire placed around the concession at Tientsin. On March 11, Arita issued a reply to England in the House of Representatives. He said that Japan could not negotiate with England unless England understood Japanese policy.

The Japanese government maintained its rejectionist stance until England offered negotiations in July. Now the Japanese government had won the game, and there was no reason for it to reject negotiations. They took place in Tokyo between Foreign Minister Arita and British Ambassador Craigie. The surprise was general that after only a short time, on the night of July 23-24, an agreement was reached, the wording of which must be recorded. It said: "The British Government recognizes the conditions prevailing at the present time in China, where extensive fighting is in progress, and likewise recognizes the fact that so long as these conditions dominate the situation in China, Japanese troops in China must claim special rights with regard to the safeguarding of their security and the maintenance of peace and order. At the same time, the British Government has recognized the necessity of refraining from any action detrimental to Japanese troops and likely to aid the anti-Japanese Chinese. The British Government will refrain from all acts and measures which will interfere with the performance of the above-mentioned duties of the Japanese troops and will make this policy known to the British authorities and nationals in China
clearly highlight and cause them to act on it."
If one sticks to the wording of the agreement, it must be booked as a full surrender by England and a great diplomatic success by Japan. It was not to be too long before English hypocrisy, much like that in the Munich Agreement of September 1938, came to light. If one took the English declaration literally, it was to be seen that 1. England recognized the China conflict as an ordinary state of war; 2. the granting of loans to Chiang Kai-shek was to be regarded as a hostile act against Japan; 3. with the agreement a heavy blow was struck against Chiang Kai-shek because he had to do without English support; 4. Japan had to take all decisions in the war zone, also with regard to third countries, in so far as they were directly or indirectly connected with military operations; 5. thus Japan was given a free hand with regard to concessions, in the question of blockade, in traffic and in settlements. Particular optimists concluded that England had fallen back strategically on Singapore and had relinquished her economic rights and interests. This was perhaps a little too early to cheer, though it had already become apparent that England's star in the Far East was sinking. The real background will have to be clarified in another context.
On Monday, July 24, negotiations began in Tokyo for the implementation of the agreement. It had probably never happened in England's history that English was not the language of negotiation in such talks, although nearly all the Japanese participating in the conference spoke or at least understood English. Japanese was designated as the language of negotiations, and the English military attaché acted as interpreter. The composition of the two negotiating parties was as follows: The British Ambassador led his men, Major General Piggot, the Consul General from Tientsin, Major Macre, the Deputy Chief of the Commercial Department, and three other officials of the British Embassy. On the Japanese side appeared Envoy Kato, the Consul from Tientsin, Tanaka, General Muto and Colonel Kawamura.
London resisted the notion that anything like a dictation had been accepted in Tokyo. In any case, it was a British surrender to Japan. This was also how the situation was perceived in America, where Secretary of State Hüll declared that America did not recognize any special rights of Japan in China, but adhered to the Nine-Power Agreement of the Washington Conference of February 6, 1922, and numerous special treaties with China.
In London, Prime Minister Chamberlain had a hard time in the face of the many questioners, especially from the Socialist side, who wanted to see in the agreement a loss of prestige for England and recognition of Japanese sovereignty over China. Chamberlain sought to allay all such concerns, but spoke the weighty word that these concessions to Japan were only "momentary in nature." English hypocrisy had been revealed. Concessions had been made out of necessity, and later they were to be taken back.

The Japanese government was skeptical. Navy Minister Yonai, who later became prime minister, believed that one had to be very vigilant about England's attitude in East Asia. Demonstrations had already been held in Tokyo weeks ago in connection with the Tientsin conflict, with banners reading "Chastise perfidious Albion!" being carried through the streets. Now new rallies and anti-English riots have occurred in Tangku and Tientsin. In Nadi Tangku, the British sent the gunboat "Sandwich" to sdrütz their companies, some of whose administrative buildings had had their windows smashed by the demonstrators. America took an even harder line and terminated the trade agreement with Japan of 19 u on July 27, which obviously had to be seen as a political measure, even a challenge to Japan, and was interpreted as such by the American newspapers. The signing on July 28 of a new trade agreement with Germany on the movement of goods and payments had a calming effect in Tokyo. Officially, it was stated in Tokyo that this agreement was seen as strengthening the world political triangle of Germany-Italy-Japan.

Already the dishonesty of England became apparent in the Tokyo negotiations. The English made difficulties on the question of the Chinese currency and the issue of silver money. In addition, the Tientsin Army made itself heard, rejecting any partial solution. Demonstration marches again passed through Tokyo, which the government did not disperse because it did not want to shackle the popular discontent evoked by England's attitude. The explanation for England's stiffening attitude was to be found in the fact that London had given itself over to the hope that its special mission to Moscow would achieve a result. Disappointment was not long in coming. A particularly large rally was held at Hibiya Hall in Tokyo on July 31, where representatives of the provisional government in China, from the Philippines, from India, from Turkey, from Mongolia, from Annam, and from Siam joined with the Japanese in demanding the elimination of British influence in East Asia. Demonstrations against Britain were also held in Peking. In Kobe, over 100,000 people demanded adherence to Japan's rejectionist policy toward England's machinations in East Asia.

It had already been suggested in the British press that England would first have to consult with America and France on any concessions. Indeed, on io. August the ambassadors of America and France appeared at the Japanese Foreign Office and declared that their governments were proceeding in solidarity with England on the currency question and on the issue of silver money. Japan rejected this joining of the three countries and declared that it had only England to negotiate with. This incident clearly highlighted the united front of the democracies against Japan. The anti-British movement in Tokyo received new impetus as a result, since it was recognized under what pressure Japan was to be put. It could not fail that the Anglo-Japanese negotiations came to a complete standstill. Japan was in no hurry. It could let things come to it. Nevertheless, Japan protested against the British filibuster, which England wanted to exploit in order to exert pressure on the deliberations of the Japanese Cabinet Council on matters of European policy, on which very serious negotiations had been going on for some time.

Japan remained firm and was not swayed by England's obstructionism. Finally, England suffered a new diplomatic defeat. On ii. August it agreed to extradite the four Chinese held in hiding and hand them over to the Japanese-controlled court. A fifth Chinese was also to be handed over to the Japanese. In addition, the British ambassador received new instructions to resume negotiations in Tokyo. A storm of indignation broke out in London over the government's new concession, especially since the extradition of the Chinese had been unconditionally conceded and no relaxation of the blockade of the British concession at Tientsin had been agreed upon. Japan was able to come up trumps. It had Envoy Kato explain to the British ambassador that the representatives would leave Tientsin again if negotiations were not resumed shortly. The Japanese had another means of pressure at hand. They occupied the entire land boundary of the British leasehold of Kaulun opposite Hong Kong and completely isolated the British position there. The Japanese press called for breaking off negotiations with England. The

military joined in this view and demanded settlement of all questions by the military authorities in Tientsin.

On August 20, the British Ambassador appeared at the Japanese Foreign Office and, on the basis of a communiqué from his government, officially announced that England could not make any decision on Tientsin economic issues without consulting the other powers. The Japanese government then declared that it refused to enter into negotiations with third powers.

The outbreak of the European war with England's declaration of war on September 3, 1939, resulted in England seeking to alleviate some of the pressure in the Far East. Two days later, on September 5, it extradited the four Chinese from the British concession at Tientsin to the Tientsin District Court. It also continued to try to make Japan more pliant by having the British authorities assist in the prosecution of anti-Japanese elements in the British concession. However, negotiations on the outstanding issues still did not take place. As a result, the blockade of the British concession was maintained until England would be comfortable in releasing the hoarded silver supplies and recognizing the notes of the Federal Reserve Bank established by the Japanese. British incursions by warships in Japanese territorial waters again aggravated the situation and led to an emphatic Japanese protest to the British ambassador in Tokyo. The latter apologized by saying that the fleet's action was not directed against Japan. On the other hand, England sought to make good weather again. On October 30, on the instructions of the British government, the administration of the British concession in Tientsin extradited six members of the "Blue Shirt Organization," including the leader of the anti-Japanese gang, Chang Tsii, to the Chinese court. They were political agitators who had been arrested on September 28 in cooperation with the British and French authorities.

The course of the war in Europe forced England to give way further. Japan had already demanded on November 5 that England and France withdraw their garrisons in China. On November 12, 1939, England announced that it would withdraw its troops from Tientsin. France followed suit. Although negotiations on the Tientsin question were resumed on December 19, 1939, between Deputy Foreign Minister Tani and British Ambassador Craigie, the Foreign Office spokesman in Tokyo, Ministerial Director Suma, stated on March 16, 1940, that all news was incorrect that an agreement on the Tientsin silver had been reached or was close at hand.

England, following its tried and tested method, now tried once again with the carrot. At the end of March, British Ambassador Sir Robert Craigie gave a speech at the Anglo-Japanese Club in which he tried to minimize the conflicts with Japan from the previous year, especially the treatment of foreigners in Tientsin. He went on to say that Japan and England had the same goal of lasting peace and the preservation of their institutions from subversive outside influences. England and Japan were maritime powers on the edge of large continents and vitally interested in pacts on these continents. The methods employed by the two countries might differ, but certainly not so much that constructive statesmanship could not bring their political interests into full harmony.

The Japanese were not moved by this omission. They stuck to their point of view. It was too obvious why England had put on this humble face. In Washington, they were quite disconcerted by England's servility. London felt that Craigie had gone too far and hastened to explain that nothing had changed in England's policy in East Asia. Nevertheless, in mid-April England finally agreed to meet Japan's demands. It agreed to cooperate in the circulation of Federal Reserve Bank notes. Japanese papers wanted to see this as a recognition by England of the new situation in the Far East, a view that probably overshot the mark. After all, Japan could book a success for itself and immediately a second one, if the English government agreed to hand over tooooo pounds of the silver hoard in Tientsin for the implementation of relief operations in North China. Political circles in Japan saw in England's compliance an attempt to win Japan as a sword against Soviet Russia. Very clearly the newspaper

"Kokumin" wrote: "If Japan allowed herself to be vrilciim into an alliance with England, only England would have the advantage of it in her war i? g< n Germany, wähl end |.i| >.in. if the Allies should be victorious, would receive from them ii.hMh i not only no thanks, but the Zertriininu i nng of his whole with so huge sacrifices won Asia policy."

After all, Japan could be satisfied with the outcome of the Ti entsin conflict, since England had given in on all issues. There was now no reason to maintain the blockade of the British concession. On June 19, 1940, the hour struck when the blockade was abandoned by the Japanese. This happened once in Tokyo, where Foreign Minister Arita and Ambassador Craigie exchanged official documents. The next day, the same ceremony took place with French Ambassador Arsene Henry. 372 days had passed in the blockade, which had begun on June 14, 1939. Now the Japanese removed the wire entanglements and Spanish horsemen in Tientsin to the cheers of foreign and local residents. Victoria Road was flooded with an incalculable crowd in the twinkling of an eye, and business immediately resumed. Japanese officers read out orders on the main streets of the concession about the opening of the previously closed area. Ta fine were also erected which read, "Notier' We hereby declare removel of the traffic rcstrictions against the British and French Concessions front 18 o'clock 20th June 1940. The Commander ol the Imperial Japanese Forces in Tientsin. Tientsin, 20th June 1940." The prestige of England had tlnrili this conflict, however much it might stand on the brink of great events, received a sensitive blow. In time, this had to give rise to consequences that could not be overlooked at the time.

XI. UNTIL THE EUROPEAN WAR

The pace of warlike events in this undeclared war had slowed considerably by the end of 1938. Japan had remained victorious in many battles, but had not defeated the enemy. At the beginning of 1939, official communications were issued in Chungking by the Chinese military spokesman on military developments during the past year. According to these, 49 Japanese divisions and 14 mixed brigades were said to have been mobilized. Chinese casualties were given by foreign observers as two million. Three hundred Chinese divisions had been mobilized, for a total of three million men, not including guerrilla fighters.

Events in the Chinese theater of war were overshadowed by the cabinet crisis in Tokyo at the beginning of 1939, when Prince Konoye and his cabinet resigned to make way for the Hiranuma cabinet. Nevertheless, there was no complete calm on the fronts. The Chinese showed lively offensive activity in the southwest corner of Shansi Province and in southern China in the Canton area, where the Japanese had to abandon the outposts of Canton. The good successes of the guerrilla operations prompted the Chinese high command to reorganize its forces. One third was to be used in guerrilla warfare, one third in the front lines, and one third as reserves. However, the guerrilla forces were very poorly equipped and even less drilled in. American aircraft were supplied by Bellanca Aircraft Corporation in Wilmington, and 200 fighters were to leave for China within nine months. The new Chinese war capital, Chung-king, was first hit by 36 bombers and 40 fighters from the Japanese on January 16. These aerial attacks continued without letup over the next few months. The Chinese Air Force was initially able to counter the attacks, so air battles still occurred at that time. In the House of Representatives, War Minister Itagaki gave the strength of the Chinese forces as one million men, distributed among 210 divisions in the north, south, and central Asia. He gave Japanese losses as 51,000 men. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's son, Major General Chiang Ching-kuo, who had received his military training in Moscow, raised a new army in Kiangsi Province. His title was "Commander of the Kiangsi People's Self-Defense Forces." On February 2, the Japanese occupied Wai- chow Island, off Pakhoi in southern China, to tighten the blockade of the southern coast and cut off arms smuggling even more than before. In Chungking, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, under his own chairmanship, formed a Supreme Defense Council composed of eleven members to tighten military action.

The comparative calm on the fronts was interrupted on February 10, 1939, when the Japanese landed on the large southern Chinese island of Hainan, which had always been expected. The landing took place in the north of the island. From there, the landing detachments advanced south. The landing was under the command of Vice Admiral Kondo. The occupation of the island drew the attention of the French government, which first inquired in Tokyo whether a permanent occupation or only a temporary war measure was in view. France was working with two old treaties, the Franco-Chinese treaty of 1897 and the Franco-Japanese treaty of 1907, which it interpreted to mean that Japan had no right to occupy the island. South of Hainan, France had only recently established itself in the Paracel Islands on the grounds that it had to ensure the protection of Indochina. Even then, France had announced that occupation of Hainan was incompatible with the security of Indochina. To speed up the seizure of Hainan, a Japanese detachment landed on the western tip of the island near Sanha Port on February 15, 1940. French Ambassador Arsene Henry was reassured by Foreign Minister Arita that Japan had no territorial intentions in the occupation. However, no date was given for the length of the occupation. Concerns were also expressed in the Philippines, where it was felt that the occupation of Hainan would give the Japanese the opportunity to advance against Singapore as well as Indochina and the Philippines. Moreover, Japan could completely control trade in that area. The democracies were particularly annoyed that Japan had informed Germany and Italy, but not them, of its advance.

A special episode unfolded in the Lushan Mountains south of Kiukiang, where the Japanese launched an attack on the famous Kuling Sanatorium, where 60,000 Chinese freedmen were entrenched. The Japanese surrounded the whole mountain and sent their bomb squadrons against the Chinese. Northwest of Hankau, the Japanese attempted to reach the Han River, the left tributary of the Yangtze, to extend the security belt around Hankau. These more local ventures led to the capture of Anlu on the upper reaches of the Han River on March 5. The Japanese air force became interested in the "red road" from Soviet Russia and was still bombing northwest of Lanchow, the capital of Kansu Province. The peculiar conditions in the theater of war are made clear when it is pointed out that in those days fierce fighting was still going on far in the rear of the Japanese front on the border of Kiangsu and Shantung, because after the great battle of Hsüchowfu in May 1938 entire Chinese divisions which had broken through to the east and southeast had entrenched themselves in the mountainous region there. These divisions had been joined by 20,000 Chinese security police. The Japanese slowly encircled these forces, also deploying new landed troops at Antungwei north of Haichow. True annihilation of the Chinese did not occur this time either. Haichow, the terminus of the Lunghai Railway to the east, was finally occupied on March 5.

After a pause of four months, the Japanese front south of the Yangtze River west of Lake Poyang began to move again. On March 20, the offensive began on the Chinese positions in the Wuning-Yungsiu area, where the 3rd Chinese Army was entrenched. The enemy held a front of 180 kilometers and had deployed ten divisions. The target of the Japanese attack was the Chekiang Railway, the entire length of which was still available to the Chinese. The advance already reached precariously close to the provincial capital of Nanchang. Likewise, after the flooding of the Hoangho had ceased, the Japanese made a new attempt to capture Chengchow, the junction of the Peking-Hankau Railway with the Lunghai Railway south of the Hoangho. And further east, an advance was made against Fuyang southwest of Hangchow.

Again, Japan was shaken by a new cabinet crisis in late August 1939. Hiranuma resigned and handed over the leadership of state affairs to General Abe, who had his cabinet together by August 30. Shortly thereafter, the European war broke out. Now the Sino-Japanese war took on a new look. The Japanese government had to define its position on this. First, however, it is necessary to consider the political events from the beginning of 1939 until September, which brought Japan into close relation with the

European events. In this context, the relationship between Germany and Japan played a special role. It became clear even to the less initiated that effects emanating from the confines of Europe could be felt very clearly in the Far East.
What had the Munich Conference between the Führer, the Duce, Chamberlain and Daladier to do with the events in the Far East? This question is justified, and it is necessary to go back at least to that point. Germany and Italy had approached this conference in good faith, believing likewise that the other side would carry out the arrangements loyally and without ulterior motives. It was to prove within a year that, on the contrary, England and France gave the conference an entirely different meaning. As a witness one may refer to the American ambassador in London, who returned to Washington in October 1940 to report, and openly made the statement that Chamberlain and every Englishman had regarded the Munich conference only as an armistice and a breathing space. The goal was the destruction of Germany. The breathing
England needed a pause to improve its backward armaments in the fastest possible way. Hence the large expenditures for the national defense of England and likewise France.
We have seen it before 1914, how - however, without being recognized - England set up her sentinels early in the whole world, before she started her war of encirclement against Germany. This time, lessons had been learned from those events and all moments had been closely followed. The war of 1914 to 1918 had not yet been a world war in the true sense of the word. The new war that England wanted to ignite was to become one. So for England it was not only a question of destroying Germany in Europe, but of bringing together a war society over the whole globe and stirring it up against Germany. Japan was also to be used in this game. Here difficulties arose from the fact that Japan was linked to Germany by the Anti-Comintern Agreement, even if at first only in the ideological field, and also to Italy. It was therefore necessary to break Japan out of this combination. This could only be done by intimidation, and Japan's war against China offered sufficient opportunities for this. England was able to build on the agreements which Prime Minister MacDonald had made with President Roosevelt in America during the latter's recuperative stay on the Rapidan River, and which at least provided for consultation on all questions of the Far East and the Pacific.
On the last day of 1938, a very sharp American note, which had taken a month and a half to write, followed up Japan's reply to America of November 18, 1938, when the American Government complained of alleged prejudice and injury to American citizens.

of canonical interests in the occupied territories of China by Japan. Japan had rejected this view of America at that time and had made the very correct addition that one could not apply thoughts and principles of the past to the facts of today and tomorrow. The new American note of December 31, 1938, flatly rejected Japan's view that the changed conditions in the Far East created a new situation. America once again juggled its "open door*' policy when it stated that fundamental principles such as equal opportunity for all could not be unilaterally set aside. America declared its willingness to enter into conversations with other powers on these issues. China was also to be brought in on this. This suggestion was quite contrary to the basic Japanese position that Japan would have to deal with China alone and that any outside interference could not be contemplated. London had been informed before the American note left. The close association of the two Anglo-Saxon powers was obvious. England, however, did not want to send an identical note at first, relying more on the path of persuasion that its Ambassador Craigie had already taken. Thus, one did not want to alienate Japan too much, because one still hoped for good services from it. Moreover, it had not escaped England's notice that certain circles in Japan wanted to expand the Anti-Comintern Pact into a military alliance. Great caution had to be exercised. It was better to leave the rough stuff to America. The English press - it was the "Daily Mail"

- made no secret of these plans and developed them entirely in the sense reproduced here. Australia and Indochina joined in the race by imposing an export ban on iron and steel in early January 1959, which could only be directed against Japan. Foreign Minister Arita felt compelled on January 11 to give American Ambassador Grew a warning. If England and America insisted on helping China, Japan would immediately take steps against it.

On January 14, 1939, England did after all present itself in Tokyo with a note of its own, in which it was stated that the formation of an economic bloc of Japan, China and Manchukuo, as intended by Japan, did not correspond to Japanese assurances that Japan was not pursuing any territorial goals in China. Further, the Nine-Power Treaty of the Washington Conference was again invoked, which would be violated by Japan's actions. As a result, England would have to protest. Before Japan made any reply, the position was emphasized in Japanese circles, just as it had been to America, that the path taken by Japan would not be affected by outmoded status-quo notions of Anglo-Saxon character and machinations. England and America should recognize the world-historical fact of the China conflict. This would make all English and American worrying pointless. In America, people rubbed their hands at this joint action with England, which made the common front in Far East policy clear. Indirect military measures were already underway through the supply of war material to China. Japan would be hit via China. Of course, England had informed Washington and Paris before sending its note. The democracies had found each other.

On January 17, the Chinese Ambassador in London, Dr. "Wellington Koo, made concrete proposals on how to deal with Japan. In a submission to the League of Nations, he demanded financial and economic sanctions against Japan. Now France, as the third in the league of conspirators, also came out with a note to Japan. The Japanese government, on the other hand, turned a cold shoulder by declaring that France was too preoccupied with internal political issues to concern itself with the China question. The Japanese fleet took part in the matter with an appeal pointing out that the Sino-Japanese war was going on only because Britain, America and France supported Chiang Kai-shek. France thought it could play a special trump card by refusing the agreement for the new Japanese ambassador Tani. The Japanese government was not swayed by this either, but left the ambassadorial post in Paris vacant for the time being. One can imagine the effect in the capitals of the three democracies of the news that Japan had occupied Hainan Island.

In early March 1939, the Japanese ambassador to Washington, Hirohito Saito, had died. Roosevelt ordered an American cruiser to bring the body to Tokyo. In Tokyo, this gesture was felt to be a sign of improvement in relations with America. Foreign Minister Arita issued a statement to that effect. However, it was to turn out later that Tokyo had indulged in false hopes. By its actions in the Tientsin incident, Japan showed the British that it was not content with merely sending notes but was prepared to take action. This energy was hardly expected in London, where people believed that Japan was sufficiently burdened with the war in China. Nor did it contribute at all to the improvement of relations with England when, in those days of all days, on io. March of all days, the British ambassador appeared at the Foreign Office in Tokyo and explained why England had come to grant China a stabilization fund of ten million pounds to support its currency. In the meantime, Japan's reply to the notes from America, England and France had gone out. It contained three main points: i. Japan does not share the view of the three powers on the situation in China; 2. Japan spares no effort to make its position clear; and 3. a conference proposed by the democracies would not help to solve the Chinese question.

In those days, a book by the then chief of the Information Bureau, Ministerial Director Kawai, was published under the title: "The Goal of Japanese Expansion." It was based on the idea that behind the military struggle between Japan and China, forces were at work to shape new ideological knowledge. The East Asian spirit, after centuries of dormancy, had only received new impetus in Japan through

contact with the culture of the West. In a tremendous synthesis between the culture of the East and the West, Japan had created the new spirit of Asia and was entitled to lead the races in the Far East to a new attitude towards life. Japan was the champion of a new age and the hope of a new Asia. This was a clear statement of Japan's goal. The book received, understandably, widespread attention. From Ministerial Director Kawai also came the statement, made in May 1939, that "regional autonomies" must be created in order to stabilize peace in the world. This principle had been put forward by him at a closed meeting and, when it became known, caused a tremendous stir in the circles of the representatives of the democracies in Tokyo. At that time the principle was laid down by the Japanese that Germany in Europe and Japan in East Asia should act as powers of order. Just as Germany had already torn up the Treaty of Versailles, Japan considered the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington obsolete and out of date. Both powers believed in dynamism in world affairs and in the life of nations and rejected the principle of the status quo. In the Japanese press, one could often read that Japan was not fighting against China, but against England, which was trying to oppose Japan as a power of order.

In dealing with the Tientsin conflict it has already been shown how England, by her accommodating treaty of July 23/24, wanted to bring Japan into her plans of encirclement against Germany and to withdraw from her. In Japan at that time the friends of England, who still existed in large numbers from the time of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, rejoiced. But then came the disillusionment when suddenly America unexpectedly terminated the trade treaty with Japan of 1911 on July 27, 1939. When two days later Germany made the new trade arrangements with Japan, the aching wound was somewhat healed. The question of closer ties with Germany came back into flux. England saw its already entrenched hides swimming away again. At that time the English special mission was in Moscow to win Soviet Russia also to its cause against Germany. Finally, the London Times was sent ahead, declaring in an essay that the Moscow negotiations offered Japan the opportunity to test its European policy. Even this enticement did not catch on in Tokyo.

Then an event occurred that seemed to throw all combinations out of kilter. Japan had probably not yet understood the new foreign policy of the national socialist empire, otherwise it would not have received the new turn of events with such displeasure. On July 23, Germany concluded the non-aggression pact with Soviet Russia. This event struck like lightning in Tokyo. Germany was accused of violating the Anti-Comintern Agreement and even decided to protest in Berlin. Radical newspapers, such as the "Yomiuri" in Tokyo coined phrases like: "Germany and Italy are no longer the friends of Japan". But hadn't Japan acted similarly to Germany in a similar situation? When the Anglo-Saxon front had built up impenetrably against Japan at the Washington Conference, Japan looked around for a power that could confront this antagonism with it, and on January 21, 1925, in Peking, it concluded the agreement with Soviet Russia that established the diplomatic relations between the two states that had not yet existed. This step was certainly not easy for Japan, where in the course of the Siberian expedition in 1920 Japan had faced the advancing 4th Red Army east of Lake Baikal, so that one could already believe that a new Russian-Japanese war was coming. In Germany, the Beijing Agreement was understood in this sense. In Japan, too, the understanding of the German-Russian agreement was to come with the non-aggression pact of August 23, 1939, even if it took some time to get over it.

Prime Minister Hiranuma believed he could no longer continue to manage the business, as the turn of events could not be reconciled with the policies he had pursued up to that point. He resigned. When England and France declared war on Germany on September 3, Japan was already largely disillusioned. The initial dejection, sometimes even agitation, was replaced by calm and objective deliberation. It was recognized that, with the hostility of the Western democracies becoming ever more apparent, Germany could not act otherwise and had, in the last hour before the storm, achieved a masterpiece of realpolitik that could not so easily be imitated. Finally, the German action also had favorable consequences for

Japan, since the armistice ending the fighting at Nomonhan on the Mongolian border can probably be brought into a causal connection with the German-Russian non-aggression pact. Japan - it can be concluded - had resisted the lures of England, but also its snubs, and it had repelled the pressure that Soviet Russia was to exert on it with a sword in its fist. In the latter case, even outright enmity developed over time into a compatible relationship, which was also able to mitigate the conflicts over the fisheries issue and the oil concessions on Sakhalin. Hiranuma's successor, General Abe, was able to declare that Japan's relations with Germany were not affected by Germany's pact with Russia. Reich Foreign Minister v. Ribbentrop, in his speech delivered in liberated Danzig, was able to assert: "True and sincere friendship with Italy and Japan are in the future the valuable guarantor of a just and reasonable world order."

XII. JAPAN IN THE PACIFIC

It is not intended here to fall into the oft-made mistake vci giving Japan only its continental face. Pacific Japan is no less important. Just as Japan's policy of expansion to the East Asian mainland has given it its continental character, so on the other hand it is attached to the Silent Ozcan as its second habitat. Here as there, the Japanese speak of their lifeline, which they place in the Pacific Ocean in the formerly German South Sea islands. As an island state, Japan lives in the Silent Ozcan in its very own element, which confronts it there with quite different but very decisive problems. In earlier times, the Japanese were not great seafarers. The Chinese far surpassed him in this when he extended his coastal voyages far to the west. The journey to the east over the watery desert of the Pacific Ocean was avoided by both. Japan was also discovered by sea from the west. The Dutch were the toughest, advancing to the islands from the west and not allowing themselves to be deterred from their trade, even when they had to pursue them in a humiliating manner. Modern Japan, on the other hand, r.t been unlocked from the east when sidi det American Commodore Perry approached Japan's shores in 1853 and opened up the shuttered pearl shell to the world. Quickly the value < im r respectable fleet in Japan crk.innt I)ci great Emperor Meiji provided not only for the building of a strong army, but in like manner for the provision of a fleet that commands respect. Already in the Chinese War of 1894/95, it performed well, albeit against an opponent who was in no way its equal, and ten years later, off Port Arthur and even more so in the great naval victory at Tsushima on May 26-27, 1905, it performed outstandingly and contributed to Japan's fleet joining the ranks of the most powerful navies. During the World War, England and America put aside their ill-will toward the inconvenient competitor. Japan was welcome to them to ensure free passage in its living space. The plan of a joint Anglo-Saxon action against Japan after the war was probably already decided at that time and was put into action with the Washington Conference in 1921/22. England and America granted each other equal fleet strengths and pushed Japan into the second line. However, it remained the third strongest state at sea to this day, which for its part set out to shake off the shackles placed on it with nine battleships against 15 each of the Anglo-Saxons. Japan proceeded in a perfectly legal way. In accordance with the wording of the Washington Naval Treaty of February 6, 1922, it canceled this treaty two years before its expiration and, from 1936 on, it was able both to build up its fleet as it saw fit and to fortify its island possessions according to the necessities of its national defense.

It must be admitted that Japan was very clever in keeping the expansion of its fleet secret, so that hardly any accurate news about its newbuildings leaked out into the world. All the greater was the displeasure of others who could not get a clear picture of Japan's fleet, but who now had to realize that the pushback of Japan by the Washington Conference 250

Japan had done more good than harm. At that time, Japan had to send a number of ships to the ship graveyard. Explicitly, it discarded the oldest types and since then has had a modern fleet that can only wait with the best ships. Japan also got rid of foreign help in its shipbuilding at an early stage. It was

inevitable that there would be some misconstructions when experience failed. A few years ago, for example, a whole series of destroyers had to go back into dock and be rebuilt because the deck superstructures were so heavily constructed that a destroyer went overboard during sea trials.
In its Pacific policy, Japan had to deal primarily with America, which created its "United States Fleet" at the end of 1921 and abolished the distinction between Atlantic and Pacific fleets. In terms of power, England was only in second place in the Pacific, even though its bases in Hong Kong, Singapore and Australia brought it much closer to Japan than America. For this, England had to think first of its European waters, where it gathered its battleships before the world war and remained represented in the Pacific waters only with cruisers. England had actually been the main loser of Washington's fleet limitations, having to downsize to the 15 battleships allotted to it.
America has followed strange paths in its Pacific policy. After concluding the treaty of commerce with Japan in 1854, it disappeared from Pacific affairs for forty years and did not return until 1898, when it acquired the Hawaiian Islands and occupied the Philippines out of the inheritance of the Spaniards. It was precisely with the latter that it laid the foundation for the ever-increasing discontent in Japan since then, for now with this possession, which extended over 2,000 islands, it loomed far into the Japanese living space and stood threateningly at the gates of Japan. Not ten years later, the American President Roosevelt the Elder sent a large fleet into the Pacific Ocean for the first time, which still had to sail around Cape Horn because the Panama Canal had not yet been completed. America had thus staked its claim to the Pacific. Two strong naval bases were established at Cavite and Olongapo in the Philippines, which could only be directed against Japan. Japan nevertheless held to its position that it claimed dominion in the western Pacific, just as, on the other hand, it did not want to disturb America in its domain, in the eastern part.
America established itself in the center of the great battlefield, on the Hawaiian Islands, and built the strongest base of the Pacific at Pearl Harbor, while it built the northern pincer lever into its naval strategic position over Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, and kept the other lever ready in the south on Samoa. In more recent times it broke into the Phoenix group and established itself on Canton and Enderbury, which belonged to England, thus creating a new condominium there. For the connection to the Philippines, every possible stopping point was used, striking northwest, the Midway Islands, then southeast Wake and Jonston Islands, and finally Guam, which lies in the middle of the Japanese South Sea area, thus quite especially exposed to the danger of rapid occupation by the Japanese in case of emergency. Japan, in addition to its strong naval forts at Yokosuka, Kure, and Sasebo, has developed the wartime port of Maizuru into a first-class base and has remade Port Arthur, which was temporarily abandoned as a wartime port after the World War. With attention it followed the reconstruction of Vladivostok in the north. To the south it advanced in 1939 with the occupation of the Pratas Islands and the Spratley Group.
Japan's national pride has been severely affected by the fact that the Anglo-Saxons denied it racial equality both at Versailles and in Washington, even though Japan was recognized as a great power at the conferences. America deepened the resulting resentment with its immigration bans, which came into effect on July 1, 1924, putting the Japanese on an equal footing with Indians, Chinese and Siamese. At that time, both sides withdrew their ambassadors for several months without changing America's attitude. The same rejection of Japanese immigration is adopted by Australia and New Zealand, and not quite so sharply by Canada. Brazil, which for years allowed unrestricted Japanese immigration, has also for some time introduced a strong restriction.
In 1925, America sent a large fleet into the Pacific Ocean for the second time, 700,000 tons strong with a dozen admirals on board. Now it was no longer necessary to take the detour around Cape Horn, rather the Panama Canal had been available since August 1914. However, this large fleet not only visited

Hawaii, but also headed for Australia and New Zealand. Now the English were getting a bit sultry. The British Fleet League in London vented on this, noting that the Pacific Dominions, Australia and New Zealand, had never seen a British fleet of similar strength in their ports. To this was attached the question of whom they should adhere to in case of emergency, who would lend the safe shield behind which they should then seek shelter. After this demonstration voyage, the Unif-
In the course of the wars, the ten states began to hold large fleet exercises in the Pacific every year, usually starting in January. Only rarely - for example in 1939 - did they return to the Atlantic Ocean. Most of the time, the exercises involved defense of the Panama Canal or defense against an imagined enemy attack on Hawaii from the west. During the Washington Conference, America and Japan had agreed to use the International Date Line, the 180 degree longitude, as the dividing line for their naval maneuvers. Until 1940, America adhered to this gentleman's agreement. In that year, it extended its maneuvers westward across the line of separation, which was resented in Japan. The American fleet remained assembled in the Pacific Ocean, where it relied on the war ports of San Pedro and San Diego in California and on San Francisco. It was not until events in Europe in 1940 that the small observation squadron held by America in the Atlantic was expanded into a larger fleet force of 120 units. Roosevelt authorized the construction of the two-ocean fleet.
In earlier sections it has already been shown how America, in alliance with England, conducted a pinprick policy in Far Eastern questions against Japan, which assumed sharper forms from year to year and was received with great patience and restraint on the part of Japan. Concurrently, America allowed itself to be challenged on Pacific issues vis-à-vis Japan, which repeatedly raised the question of whether a war between America and Japan might occur at sea. A gripping fantasy picture of this was developed by the Englishman Hector Bywater in his book: "The Great Pacific War". In 1939, a book by Lieutenant General Sato was published in Japan: "The American-Japanese War Threatens", in which Japan's preventive war against 2$4
America and a campaign plan was developed, which, however, with the conquest of America by Japan within five years, must be regarded as all too much of a dream.
The Philippines were to receive full independence after a trial period of ten years, i.e. in 1946, but even among the Filipinos there were many who were in favor of the continuation of American suzerainty. The full economic sovereignty of the Philippines in customs matters, etc., had already been postponed until 1960. It was called a "symbolic demonstration" in America when three cruisers appeared at the Singapore opening ceremony on February 14, 1938. In reality, it was an intentional demonstration of Anglo-American understanding on all Pacific issues. At that time, the Americans were strengthening their air force in Hawaii, to which the 31st Bomb Squadron was transferred from San Diego. Eighteen million dollars was shelled out for the expansion of the Army airport on Oahu, Hickmann Field. In May 1938, Washington approved construction of the world's largest dry dock at a cost of $1 billion for Hawaii, capable of accommodating warships of all sizes, including the planned battleships of 45,000 tons. In July 1938, America acquired the small Palmyra group of islands belonging to the city of Honolulu, some 900 miles southeast of the Hawaiian archipelago, for the purpose of building fuel depots and repair shops, auxiliary depots for the fleet and air force.
After the Chief of Operations of the American Navy, Admiral Leahy, had already been working since the beginning of 1938 on the various commissions of Congress to approve new funds for the armament of the fleet, Roosevelt took matters into his own hands in the course of the year and demanded billions for the armament he had planned, taking into account both sides of the American continent and thus also the island possessions in the Pacific accordingly. Hawaii was to become the Gibraltar of the Pacific. The development of the great triangle Alaska-Hawaii-San Diego was envisaged for the domination of the Pacific Ocean. In dealing with this question, disagreements arose among the responsible agencies

when Guam was to be developed as a base. U.S. naval officers vigorously advocated this, but met with great resistance in Congress because it was clearly recognized that this expansion would pose a formidable challenge to Japan. Setting aside these concerns, several million dollars were finally appropriated for road construction and airfield expansion on Guam in the overall U.S. base development program. It had been claimed that a fortified Guam could hold off an attack on Hawaii for three months, a period sufficient to bring in sufficient defensive forces.

The following amounts were earmarked for the expansion of bases in the Pacific: in Alaska, for Kodiak, $8.75 million; for Sitka, $2.9 million; for Tongue Point south of Seattle, $1.5 million; for Kancohe Air Base on Oahu, $5.8 million; for Pearl Harbor on Oahu, $2.8 million; for Midway Islands, $5.35 million; for Wake Island, $2 million; for Johnston Island, $1.15 million; and for Palmyra Island, $1.1 million. The Panama Canal was placed under the control of the War Department in Washington in September 1939.

When General Abe, as Japanese prime minister, took Admiral Nomura into his cabinet as foreign minister in September 1939, it was felt in Japan that this choice was necessary because of the increased tension between 256

America and Japan had been hit. At that time, 15 American heavy bombers arrived in Manila in the Philippines. An aircraft mother ship was stationed at Cavite, and 15 obsolete submarines were replaced with new boats in Asian waters. Hawaii was given equal consideration. Fleet strike forces there were augmented by eight heavy cruisers, 30 destroyers and the aircraft carrier Enterprise. Hawaii's shore force totaled about 25,000, housed at Schofield Barracks. They consisted of the 21st and 22nd Infantry Brigades, the 11th Field Artillery Brigade with the 8th, 11th, and 13th Regiments, the newly formed Divisional Train Detachment, parts of the 3rd Engineer Regiment, the 11th Tank Company, and 11th Signal Company. In addition, there was the independent 64th Coast Artillery Brigade and, in terms of aviators, the 5th Bombardment Group, the 18th Fighter Group, and the 26th Fighter Group. The 8th Artillery Regiment was an anti-aircraft regiment.

The Japanese government pushed its restraint toward America so far that Foreign Minister Arita declared on February 24, 1940, that Japan made no territorial claims on the Philippines. Nevertheless, relations between the two countries did not improve. America had been placed by England as a watchdog in the Pacific and already felt like the executor of the British Empire's will after the blows England received in Europe during the war. Proof of this was the establishment of American air bases on British island possessions from Newfoundland to the north coast of South America on the Atlantic side of the Americas. In the Pacific, America's eyes turned to the Galapagos and Cocos Islands, owned by Ecuador and Costarica, respectively. On February 16, 1940, the U.S. House of Representatives adopted the highest Navy budget ever at $995,772,878.

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The mood between Japan and America could only worsen when America made known its interest in the Dutch Indies, thus giving the Monroe Doctrine an extension never envisaged by its founder in 1823. A new Philippine immigration law also disrupted relations with Japan. In the future, only 500 immigrants were to be admitted to the Philippines, whereas Japan had previously sent some 2800 annually, who had settled mainly in the south, in the Dawao area.

Finally, U.S. Deputy Fleet Commander Taussig brought out the big guns by declaring before the Senate Naval Committee on April 22, 1940, that America might be forced into war against Japan because previous financial and economic pressures were insufficient to preserve China's integrity. This lifted the veil that had hung over all American actions and challenges to Japan. However, at the time the admiral still believed he could make the addition that America must be wary of waging war against Japan without help from England, France, and Holland. This combination was soon shattered, and with it the

monstrous threat made against Japan. Secretary of State Hüll was rather embarrassed by the whole incident, and he hastened to explain, even before he had the exact wording of Taussig's remarks, that Taussig had merely given his private opinion. In May 1940, a division of light cruisers departed Hawaii for Manila.

On June 18, the Japanese newspaper "Nischi- Nischi" published a sensational news item, claiming that there was a secret agreement between England and America on the Southern

Pacific, including Australia, New Zealand and the Dutch Indies, and that French Indochina was also the subject of Anglo-American talks. Since Japan had already made known its interest in the status quo in the Dutch Indies, this news was naturally given the greatest attention in Tokyo. The joint defense agreement concluded between America and Canada by Roosevelt and Prime Minister Mackenzie King in Ogdenburg on August 18 had to bring a further aggravation for Japan as well. It was emphasized in Tokyo that a similar agreement between America and Australia would be taken as a direct threat to Japan. And again it was an American naval officer, the former chief of the American Asiatic Fleet, Rear Admiral Yarnell, who flatly demanded that America take over Singapore. By September 1940, the first consequences of the U.S.-Canadian agreement were beginning to show, with both nations deciding to develop Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlotte Islands on the Pacific side.

At the same time, a memorandum was issued by the U.S. Naval Administration. expressing the principle that the fleet must be sufficiently strong to organize and maintain it on high alert for all necessary operations in both the Atlantic and the Pacific.

England, in her self-inflicted distress, moved still closer to America when Minister Attlee made the statement in the House of Commons, on Churchill's behalf, that the English Government was prepared to discuss any plan of union between Great Britain and the United States. The same thing was attempted here as with France, when Churchill, in the greatest distress, offered the latter a union with

joint parliament. When England threw itself into America's arms in such a way, it could not be surprising if in American circles the question was already being considered whether agreements could not be reached with England on the joint use of bases, whereby Singapore, Australia and England's island possessions in the Pacific Ocean were already mentioned. Particularly noted were the conversations of several hours between Secretary of State Hüll and the newly appointed first Australian envoy, Richard Casey, in which the subject was said to be new American bases in Australia and New Zealand, to be transferred from England to America in a manner similar to the Atlantic ones. American government circles based this on the position taken at the beginning of the European war that the war should not come close to American shores. It must be remembered in these matters that Roosevelt had broadened his cabinet by bringing in Republicans. Secretary of War had become Colonel Stimson, the former Governor General of the Philippines and Secretary of State under President Hoover. As such, he had advocated falling into Japan's arms in its action in Manchuria in 1931. Stimson had wanted to get England to go along at the time, but met with an outright rejection in London. He then put his anger on paper when he had to hand over his post to Hüll in his book: "The Fareastern Crisis". It is therefore not surprising if Japan was confronted with ever new challenges and America's enormous rearmament showed a clear point against Japan. Now there was also already talk of the formation of a joint English-American high command for the command of the mutual naval forces in the Pacific Ocean. To Secretary of the Navy, Roosevelt made Knox a Republican.

Tokyo was well aware of the Anglo-American negotiations involving Australia. Negotiations took place not only in the Cabinet but also in the palace with the Tenno. From this the Japanese point of view emerged that the surrender of Singapore to America would cause the Pacific crisis to burst. The

newspaper "Yo- miuri," which always tends to take a very sharp line, saw the negotiations as a dire challenge and dangerous threat to Japan.

In this way, U.S.-Japanese relations drifted ever closer to a serious crisis. This became particularly evident when Americans living in China and Manchukuo were asked by their government to leave these countries, and largely complied with this request, although decades-old business relations with the Far East were thereby broken. It also became known that the Americans seized aircraft destined for Siam and Sweden for their own use and shipped them to Manila. Similarly, they dealt with large quantities of war material destined for Chiang Kai-shek. Weapons already in Rangoon were stored there, and some were unloaded en route to Manila. There was talk of too heavy tanks, noo trucks, of several hundred anti-aircraft and field guns that China had purchased from America. This information was found in Japanese newspapers, with the addition that two-thirds of the American fleet was stationed in such a way that it could be unleashed immediately to attack Japan. A large part of the American fleet had already been forward-deployed to the Philippines.

XIII. ALONGSIDE EUROPE WAR

Since Japan correctly saw in England the country which primarily sought to thwart its plans for the reorganization of East Asia, but England was bound there by its war detachment in Europe, the time seemed favorable for the Japanese government to pursue the realization of its plans with redoubled energy. Japanese diplomacy saw as its next objective the elimination of any possible interference by foreign powers in the affairs of China. To this end the Japanese naval president at Tientsin, Captain Nakatsu, went to the commander-in-chief of the British forces on the Peiho River, Captain Bayliss, delivered to him the attitude of Japan toward the European war in the presence of the chief of staff of the British garrison in North China, and called the attention of the British army and navy authorities to the desirability of eliminating all possible causes of agitation for undesirable incidents in China. Appropriate openings were made to the French military authorities.

In disguise, the English and French were advised to leave as soon as possible with the troops they had maintained in North and Central China since the Boxer Rebellion in 1901. In Tokyo, the English and French ambassadors were also advised in official form to withdraw their troops. England and France complied with this request in northern China in November 1939.

Thus, only the Americans remained in China with their crews of about 4,000 men. The European war had, so to speak, thrown one of Japan's favorite demands of its China policy into its lap.

The rapid termination of the China War sought by Japan had to be sought first in the military field. For the continuation of the operations it was of importance that on April 1, 1939, the through traffic on the Tientsin-Pukau line could be resumed, because on that day the iron bridge over the Hoangho near Tsinanfu, built by German engineers and destroyed by the Chinese during their retreat in 1937, was restored.

On September 12, 1939, the establishment of a joint supreme command for all troops and fronts in China was created. For two years the war had been fought by the front high commands in North, Central, and later South China with Imperial Headquarters in Tokyo at the top but far removed from events. Perhaps the successes achieved in the field would have led to even greater decisions had a joint supreme command in China been decided upon earlier. The commander-in-chief became the former Inspector General of Education, Colonel General Nishio, to whom the former Minister of War, General Itagaki, was attached as Chief of Staff. General Nishio was in charge of the three main fronts in North China, where General Sugiyama relinquished command to General Tada, hitherto Vice Chief of the General Staff, to join the Supreme War Council; also the Central China Front, where Lieutenant

General Yamada remained in command; and the South China Front, which Lieutenant General Ando continued to command. In the Man-

A change of command also took place in Manchuria. There, the commander-in-chief of the Kwantung Army is also the Imperial Japanese Ambassador to the Manchurian Emperor. General Ueda was replaced by Lieutenant General Umezu. For General Hajime Sugiyama, his replacement as commander-in-chief of the Northern Front did not mean any reprimand. On the contrary, upon his return to Tokyo on September 26, 1939, he was received first by the Tenno and then by the Empress in a particularly solemn audience. Present with the Tenno were the Chief of the General Staff, General Prince Kanin, and War Minister Hata. The general was called to the Tenno's luncheon and was presented with two vases and a sum of money in recognition of his services.

The new Japanese commander-in-chief in China could approach his task with all the greater confidence because he was freed from a disturbance in the rear that weighed on the resolutions due to the fighting on the Mongol front. On September 16, 1939, the Nomonhan Armistice was concluded. Three days later, on September 19, the new operations on the China front were already underway. The main operation was launched in Hunan and Kiangsi provinces, south of the Yangtze River, and at the same time fighting was renewed on the Han River northwest of Hankau. This fighting was, as before, an extension of the advanced offensive point at Hankau. At Kiangsi, the Chekiang Railway was the next objective to break this last railroad line remaining to the Chinese in their own country. The attack at Kiangsi was made west of the Kiukiang-Nanchang railroad in the direction of Fengsin. The Kriegsmarine assisted in this in that the rivers flowing west into the Poyang Sea were used to transport the assault troops to the egress points. In the attack on Kaoan, the Japanese encountered six Chinese divisions in strength of 40,000 men under the command of General Lo Cho-ying. At the Han River, the Japanese managed to cross the river at one point. On September 23, the Japanese began another offensive on a front of 100 kilometers to capture Changcha in Hunan, also using naval units to bring up army pieces. After capturing Kaoan, the assault forces there swung west to attack Chinese formations in position in the Wuning and Siushui mountain areas. This was to support the main operation on Changcha. On September 24, the Japanese attack was 70 kilometers north of Changcha. The Chinese defense north of Changcha was in the hands of General Lo Chih with his 95th Division. The left wing of the Japanese attack columns deployed on Changcha had to overcome the obstacle of the Wang Yin Shan Mountains, where the 21st, 134th, and 140th Chinese Divisions were entrenched.

Once again the Japanese army command was lulled into the hope of inflicting a crushing defeat on the 500,000 Chinese at Changcha; indeed, the head of the Admiralty Press Office, Admiral Kanazawa, expressed the expectation that the battle in Hunan and Kiangsi provinces might be the last in which the Chinese and Japanese would face each other. The fighting around the Mi River, which flows into Lake Tungting from the east, was particularly severe. On September 27, the Japanese captured the important town of Pingkiang on its north bank.

On October 1, General Nishio assumed joint supreme command of all fronts at Nanking, where he was headquartered, and thus also command of the offensive that had been launched earlier. It may not have been insignificant to the command of military operations in China that in those days Colonel General Terauchi took leave of Germany, where he had had an opportunity to study both the strategic and tactical command in the Polish campaign and the defenses at the West Wall. The general, as mentioned, had been commander-in-chief of the Chinese Northern Front at the beginning of the China War. It was the first time since the Meiji period that a senior Japanese general had visited Germany for study purposes, namely as a guest of the German Foreign Minister. He had been granted extensive insight into warfare in the East and West.

According to front-line reports from the Japanese High Command, the battle developed into the largest battle of the campaign. Among the names mentioned were 14 Chinese divisions that were supposed to be trapped and destroyed north of Changcha. General Kwan Lin-cheng was named as the Chinese commander-in-chief. The Japanese counted 25,000 fallen Chinese on the battlefield. The spoils amounted to 2500 prisoners, 100 mountain guns, 30 howitzers, 50 heavy and 200 light machine guns, and 400 rifles. The Chinese, on the other hand, claimed that they, for their part, had inflicted heavy blows on the attacking Japanese in a counterattack and had thrown them back 40 kilometers. Thereafter, the Japanese would have been pushed back to the Mi River. On October 5, the Japanese reported the capture of the walled and heavily fortified city of Siushui, which had never been taken by an enemy. Two days later, the southern front also reported success with the capture of the town of Chungchan on the western shore of Canton Bay. This conquest held some sentimental value, since Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Chinese Revolution, was born in the town. A few days later, the Japanese withdrew from Chungchan and left the city to the Chinese.

And again, the Chinese high command knew to report success stories. On October 7, Pingkiang on the north bank of the Mi River was also to be recaptured. The losses of the Japanese, who were in a hurried retreat, would have amounted to 30,000 men. The mood on the Chinese side was therefore particularly hopeful and confident on October 10, 1939, the founding day of the National Government, according to the slogan issued by Chiang Kai-shek: "Fight to final victory!"

In fact, the large-scale Japanese operation did not penetrate as far as Changcha, but got halfway bogged down. On October 9, a final report on the fighting in northern Hunan was issued by the Japanese War Ministry. According to this report, the aim of the operation was not to capture Changcha or other cities, but to clear Hunan Province of all Chinese troops who had hitherto attempted to disturb the peace and order of the province. The report read as follows:

"The Chinese army was massed in the front between Yochow and Nanchang, namely 30 divisions under General Pi Yo, reinforced by more than 10 divisions of the Szechuan and Yünnan armies, in all 400000 men. After the fall of the Wuhan area (Wuchang and Hankau) in October, these troops withdrew and dug in to well-fortified positions in several parallel lines in Hunan. From these positions, they occasionally sent forward detachments into Japanese-held areas and engaged in guerrilla warfare. With the aim of eliminating this threat, which was nurtured by anti-Japanese military circles, the Japanese army decided to conduct an operation in Hunan, and, it should be explicitly noted, not with the aim of conquering Changcha or other cities.

Fifteen divisions from the Chinese Central Army, ten of which were destroyed, and over ten detachments from various provinces and remnants of other formations, a total of 19 divisions, 14 of which were knocked out of the field, took part in the fighting in Hunan.

Enemy losses through October totaled 28,650 and 2640 prisoners. The main spoils were 6 field guns, 13 trench mortars, one rapid-fire cannon, 42 heavy and 154 light machine guns, 3124 rifles, and large quantities of ammunition. The capture of a relatively small number of rifles shows that the enemy is poorly equipped since his defeat during the Wuhan operation last year.

Casualties suffered by the Japanese amounted to $54 killed through October 6 and 1944 wounded.

In conjunction with the Army, a unit of the fleet operated, sailing to the upper areas of Tung- ting Lake and landing at various points to support land operations. Other units of the fleet cleared the Yangtze River of mines."

On October 14, Lieutenant General Yamawaki, the Vice Minister of War, was transferred to the General Staff and replaced by Lieutenant General Anami. Lieutenant General Yamada relinquished command of the Central China Front on the same day and assumed the post of Inspector of Education.

On October 17, railroad operations could be resumed on the Kiukiang-Nanchang line after the southern section of the Yungsiu-Manchang line was restored.
The September results of the China campaign, which ultimately had to be regarded as unsatisfactory on the Japanese side, led to detailed consultations in Tokyo. Minister of War Hata spoke frankly in a press conference on n. November 1940 and emphasized that the solution of the China conflict was still confronted with excessive difficulties. In this connection Hata referred to the intended new rearmament program of the army, since Japan had to be prepared for all eventualities and its opponent possessed considerable numerical and qualitative strength. This was unqualified recognition of the Chinese for their achievements in the field.
In the meantime, the Japanese war command did not lose sight of the goal of making Chiang Kai-shek give in step by step by cutting off the supply routes. To this end, on November 15, 1939, naval troops were landed at Lungmen, 100 kilometers west of Pakhoi. The landing maneuvers took place in extremely stormy weather. Parts of the Air Force immediately set up an airport as a base for ventures into China's interior, while detachments of the Army advanced inland. Chinese resistance was light. The Japanese suffered only one wounded man. The objective of this operation was to cut off the supplies coming into Chungking through Hong Kong, French Kwangchuwan, and French Indochina. At Pakhoi, the Chinese 170th Division held its ground. At Nanning, the former capital of Kwangsi Province, stood the 188th Division with irregulars and militia. On November 24, Nanning was occupied by the Japanese. The city is located 140 kilometers north of the Gulf of Tongking. Nanning's importance to Chiang Kai-shek was that it was located on the upper reaches of the navigable West Bus, which could be used to transport war materials. This access route had already been blocked by the Japanese occupation of Canton. This left the overland route from Indochina to Nanning. The construction of a railroad was planned for this route, but it had only been driven as far as Lung-chow, about 90 kilometers south of Nanning from Indochina. On December 23, 1939, the Japanese occupied Lungchow from Nanning and advanced further to the Indochinese border at Chennankwan. There large quantities of material for Chungking were seized and partially destroyed. Among the booty were 5 million gallons of gasoline, 750000 gallons of heavy oil, 40000 kg of lead, 87000 kg of insulated wire, and 10000 pioneer shovels. All overland roads out of Indochina were destroyed. At the border, the French and Japanese supreme commanders met and settled all issues. Then the Japanese army command ordered the border area to be cleared and withdrew the troops to strategic positions from which the space on the Indochinese border could be kept under constant control.
In December 1939, the Chinese showed some activity on various parts of the front, such as south of the Yangtze River in the area of the September battle. In the period December 19-22, they made an advance high in the north against the Japanese occupation of the Mongol town of Pautau, where Chinese General Fu Tso-yi was even able to penetrate temporarily to the town with parts of his 35th Army. Pautau is located at the northern knee of the Hoangho River and is important as the terminus of the Peking-Suiyuan railroad. The Japanese claim that only two civilians were killed in the town.
With the year 1940, the Japanese Tenno Empire entered the scheduled celebrations of the 2600th anniversary of the founding of the Empire, which began on February 11. The climax was reached on November 10, in commemoration of the coronation ceremony of Tenno Hirohito on November 10, 1928. On the last day of 1939, the Japanese had made an advance in the south and occupied Yingtak, located 130 kilometers north of Canton, on the Canton-Hankau Railway. Later, 10 kilometers north of there, the railroad bridge was blown up. For their part, the Chinese reported successes over the Japanese in the same area after the Japanese began their advance on Christmas Day. The Japanese army and navy air forces were active against China's remaining access roads, both the Yunnan Railway and, to the northwest, the "red road" at Kansu.

General Abe's new cabinet, which came into being in mid-January 1940, was in line with the previous cabinet in the military field, since the previous Minister of War, Hata, retained his post. However, the rare case had occurred that the Tenno had personally intervened and demanded that Hata remain in the new cabinet. This order had to be obeyed by the military officers who disagreed with Hata's retention. Admiral Yoshida also retained the portfolio of Minister of the Navy as in the previous cabinet.
The Japanese Supreme Army Command in China decided in early 1940 to issue weekly reports on combat operations in the future. The first report covered the period from January 1 to 19. The main tenor was: "At the moment there is nothing of importance to report about the situation on the fronts."
On January 21, England allowed herself a piratical act, perhaps to show the world that she had something to say in the Pacific after all, after it had become obvious how much England had already had to reduce her position of power there and in the Far East. One of the few English cruisers still remaining in those waters, which had its name painted over, stopped the passenger steamer of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, "AsamaMaru", the sister ship of the "Kamakura Maru", 35 nautical miles south of the Japanese coast shortly before entering Yokohama, brought down the 21 Germans on board, who were coming from San Francisco, and took them to Hong Kong for internment. In response to sharp Japanese protests, England released nine of those arrested because they were no longer liable to military service. Japan was not able to enforce the release of the others; indeed, it even conceded to the English that in the future no more German passengers would be taken on Japanese steamships. The fact that the Japanese had expected such a piratical act from the British became apparent later, when it became known that the Japanese Consul General in San Francisco had pointed out to the captain of the "Asama Maru" that the English were up to something against the Germans on the steamer. The Japanese were especially outraged because the English had carried out the prank in the face of the sacred Fujiyama.
In southern China, the conquest of the city of Pingyang, 65 kilometers northeast of Nanning, succeeded from Nanning on February 3, with the Japanese claiming to have defeated 200000 Chinese. In order to end the China conflict as quickly as possible and to cope with all developments in the world situation, the Army and Navy Ministries submitted a six-year rearmament plan to Parliament, which was worth over 10 billion 272
yen in expenditures. The Army requested 5,413,878,000 yen for itself and the Navy 5,403,486,000 yen, to be spread over four and six years, respectively.
The Chinese reported that their counteroffensive, set to retake Nanning, had resulted in the recapture of Pingyang on February 14, 1940. The Japanese High Command in South China, on the other hand, claimed that all Chinese attack attempts had ended with terrible losses for the Chinese. Now something strange happened. The Japanese supreme commander in South China addressed a telegram to Chiang Kai-shek and Chinese generals Chen Cheng, Pai Chung-si, Chang Fai-wei, Tsai Ting-kai and other army leaders, giving them an overview of the fighting around Nanning and adding that Japan had occupied enough territory to establish a new order in the Far East. Then it continued verbatim: "As a result of the Japanese victories at Kwangsi and the interruption of the access roads for the Chung- king Army, we will not extend our operations in the future and await your attack. Should you proceed to do so, we shall adopt new tactics and write new feats of arms in the book of world history."
The meaning of this action is difficult to explain. Japanese, who were asked for information, said that it was the same situation as for the Germans before Warsaw. They had also sent a demand for surrender to the Polish fortress before they began bombarding the city.
On February 24, the Japanese lifted the blockade of the coast of Shantung. Chinese junks were also allowed to enter and leave the coast. There was no longer any danger that supplies could be routed to the Chungking government via Shantung. In October 1939, the Japanese were

had already once, as mentioned, invaded the hinterland of the Portuguese possession of Macao and had occupied the town of Chunshan. The Japanese had then released the town again, provided that no irregulars had spread there. This had happened. As a result, on March 6, 1940, after landing on the west bank of the Pearl River, the Japanese again advanced into the area and occupied it. The Chinese sought refuge mainly in Macao. In April, the Chinese reported partial successes on various parts of the front. New fighting continued around Nanchang, which was to have changed hands three times since April 14. In eastern Hupeh, too, the Chinese wanted to recapture the town of Macheng, northeast of Hankau. One concession made by the Japanese to the Anglo-Saxons was the reopening of navigation on the lower reaches of the Pearl River, which reconnected Canton to international shipping. The Chinese reported the reoccupation of the important town of Kaifeng on the Lunghai Railway east of Chengchow, the junction of the railroad with the Peking-Hankau Railway. This occurred on April 23. Japanese reports contradicted this information and said that an attack by the 22nd Chinese Division on Kaifeng had probably taken place. However, the operation had failed and the commander of the Chinese division had been killed in action and his entire staff captured. The Japanese reports also said that Nanchang was firmly in Japanese hands. From Kaifeng, the Japanese advanced along the Lunghai Railway to Chung- mow on May 1, 1940.

On the same day the Japanese opened a major offensive north of Hankau against 60 Chinese divisions located in the quadrangle bounded on the west by the Han River, on the north by the Honan and Hupeh borders, on the east by the Peking-Han- kau Railway, and on the south also by the Han River. The attack was made from the east from the direction of Sinyang and was accompanied by an advance northward from Anlu on the Han River. The Chinese had occupied a front of 500 kilometers. To the north, the Japanese advanced westward from Kioshan on the railroad and occupied Miyang on May 5. Tungpeh was occupied 50 kilometers to the south. Audi in the center and in the south at Anlu were reported successes. Among those killed was to be General Liu, commander of the 180th Chinese Division. The objective of the Japanese offensive was to crush the Chinese divisions located in the quadrangle. The Japanese encountered stubborn resistance and Chinese counterattacks, however.

In Tokyo, Minister of War Hata used the prefects' meeting to speak seriously about the situation. It was time, he said, to take Japan's fate in hand with determination, since in view of the domestic and foreign political situation Japan's fate was at stake. The Japanese armed forces had achieved great successes at the front, but the Chiang Kai-shek government was steadfastly continuing its resistance, supported by third powers. Before the same panel, General Muto, the head of the Military Administration Bureau in the War Ministry, gave an overview of the losses in the course of a year: Chinese 264198 casualties and 19750 prisoners, Japanese 5767 casualties.

Meanwhile, heavy fighting continued in Honan and Hupeh, according to Chinese reports. 40,000 Japanese were said to have been deployed. 2000 had fallen into a trap west of Miyang and surrendered. For their part, the Japanese had captured a Chinese division staff north of Tsao- yang with the commander, General Chung Yi. On May 14, the Japanese reported the victorious completion of their offensive, in the course of which 300,000 Chinese had been annihilated.

Fierce fighting had also resumed in southwestern Chansi. Chinese troops were still east of the Hoangho in the province and advanced against the railroad several times. The peculiarity of the theater of war was particularly evident when, on May 12, the Japanese felt compelled to open an offensive north of the Yangtze in northern Anhwei, where the newly formed 4th Chinese Army had entrenched itself west of the Tientsien-Pukau Railway in the Tingyüan area on the Hweinan Railway, well to the east of the heavy fighting that had been fought at Honan and Hupeh. There the Japanese found among the fallen the body of Chinese commanding general Chang Tzu-chung, who had formerly been governor of Chahar Province, mayor of Tientsin, a member of the Chahar and Hopeh Political Councils, and a

confidant of the late General Sung Che-yuan, commander of the 29th Army in Peking, with which the Japanese had clashed at Marco Polo Bridge at the beginning of the war.
A Japanese front-line report gave an overview of events at Hupeh and Honan during the period May 1-21. According to it, the Japanese faced 62 Chinese divisions with a total strength of 260,000 men. The Chinese lost 33,241 killed in action and 2690 prisoners. Among the spoils of war were 15 howitzers.
On the night of May 31-June 1, 1940, the Japanese launched a new offensive across the Han River northwest of Hankau, crossing the river on pontoon bridges at several points. Navy forces supported the Army in its approach from the river. The attack was immediately carried forward to the west. On June 7, Tangyang was occupied by the Japanese. On June 11, Shasi was taken on the Yangtze River above Hankau. Ichang was the target of this attack. 44,000 Chinese had opposed the attacking Japanese. On June 12, the Japanese occupied the important town, which lies at the junction of the Szechuan, Hunan, and Hupeh overland roads. The route for the Japanese air force to Chungking was shortened considerably after Ichang was captured. On June 15, 150 planes took off for Chungking and dropped about 800 bombs on military targets in the Chinese war capital. But the Chinese still possessed planes to counterattack, ten of which the Japanese claim to have shot down in dogfights. New bombing raids were also made on Lung- chow on the Indochina border, where supplies for Chiang Kai-shek were still noted.
The Japanese had been using a new tactic for some time, executing apparent retreats in an attempt to lure the Chinese into terrain where success could be easily achieved. This system was also used at Ichang. On June 16, the Japanese carried out the mock retreat. Three divisions of the 18th Chinese Army followed and were defeated in the Japanese counterattack. By noon on June 17, the Japanese were back in full possession of the city. New landings near Hong Kong on 22 June served to cut off the auto road leading from Kaulun into Chinese territory, which was still being used for transports for Chungking.
The defeat of France in the European war made it necessary for Japan to approach the question of the supply of war materials to Chungking via Indochina. It was agreed with the French governor that Japanese customs officials in Tongking would control imports and exports to and from China. Major General Nishihara was designated as the leader of the control commission. The commission departed at the end of June 1940. On July 1, Lungchow fell into Japanese hands. The town was an important transshipment point for supplies to Chungking.
On 29 June the Japanese forces intended to cut off Hong Kong-Kaulun from the land side reached Mirs Bay east of Kaulun and had thus closed the ring around the British possession. Chungking had complained to the French government about the closing of the Indochina frontier to transports, but received in reply only a confirmation of this measure. The Japanese now reoccupied Chennankwan, which they had taken earlier, and other frontier towns on the Indochinese border. In five planes General Nishihara's commission arrived in Hanoi on June 29, and was met at the airport by French officials. In their leasehold area of Kwangchouwan, the French had also conceded a Japanese monitoring point for shipments into China.
All the blows dealt so far by the Japanese had not been able to take away the courage of the Chinese to make new advances. On July 2, with the 2nd, 22nd and 81st Divisions of the 12th Army, they made a new attempt to capture Kaifeng on the Lunghai Railway south of the Hoangho. They did not penetrate, but were repulsed by the city garrison. That Japan had concluded a new pact of friendship with Thailand (Siam) on June 10 was not without significance for the further development of events. Siam had always abstained from voting in Geneva on Japan's action on the East Asian continent, even though it had decided to take this stand all by itself.
July 7, 1940, marked the third anniversary of the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. The Japanese innkeepers also wanted to contribute to this commemorative day and refrained from serving alcohol on

this day; dances were not held. The Japanese government issued a ban on the sale of luxury items on this day, which were also to be discontinued. The cabinet of Prime Minister Admiral Yonai resigned. The Tenno's choice, after the recommendation of the aged Prince Saionji, fell again on Prince Fumimaro Konoye, who was entrusted with the new formation on July 17 and had his cabinet together on July 22. Foreign Minister became Yosuke Matsuoka, former president of the South Manchurian Railway, who had led the Japanese delegation in Geneva in February 1933 when Japan left the League of Nations. The Minister of War became General Tojo, and the Minister of the Navy, as before, was Admiral Yoshida, but he soon left because of illness and was replaced by Admiral Oikawwa. In Japan, great things were expected from the second Konoye cabinet. They saw not only in Konoye but also in his foreign minister the strong men they had always longed for. Konoye immediately realized his favorite idea of making Japan an authoritarian state according to Japanese views. The parties had already dissolved before he took office to pave the way for a unified party. Now Konoye went about organizing Japan's new national structure, which he himself chaired. The organization was given the name "Movement for the Support of Imperial Rule." On September 17, the preparatory committee that had initially been set up was able to declare its work complete. The organization began to work.

Alongside this transformative internal reform of Japanese national life came a breath of fresh air in the conduct of foreign affairs. As an outward sign, the foreign minister undertook a purge of the diplomatic service on a scale unprecedented in Japan's history. Ambassadors, envoys, embassy councilors, and consuls general were withdrawn from their posts in large numbers. Foreign Minister Matsuoka announced a completely new form of international relations. Friendship was to be sought not with all powers, as before, but only with those who showed understanding of Japan's national aims. "Japan will no longer chum up," was his slogan. It was not difficult to guess to which powers these words were addressed. Indeed, Japan's foreign policy had previously been viewed as vacillating in many quarters, and probably was, because it wanted to be good friends with everyone.

Until the signing of the Three-Power Pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan on September 27, 1940, there were no military incidents of major proportions. Japan adhered to its February 1940 declaration to the Chungking government, but there was an increasing effort to close the last remaining holes through which war material could reach Chungking. The Chinese government reportedly believed that Japan was planning a major offensive in the fall of 1940. Chiang Kai-shek therefore made his preparations to meet it. One of the most capable generals was relieved of all other official duties to devote himself entirely to the defense of the territory remaining to China. The Japanese advance was expected along the Yangtze River, i.e. in the direction of Chungking. However, the expected Japanese offensive failed to materialize. However, the city of Chungking had to endure continuous heavy bombardment.

On July 21, the Japanese landed at Santuau, a village located in a bay 80 kilometers northeast of Foochow, to plug that hole as well. Santuau is located on an island in the bay. To make the occupation complete, the village of Ningteh was occupied opposite on the mainland. The parts of the 18th Division stationed there, which had its headquarters inland at Fuan, were driven out. In a major raid throughout Japan and also in Korea and Manchukuo, a widespread British espionage organization was rooted out by the Japanese. The Reuters correspondent Cox committed suicide after his arrest by jumping from the third floor of the prison into the courtyard.

The Japanese High Command issued a reconnaissance notice in July 1940 on the war zones created by the Chinese. The I. Zone was located southwest of Kaifeng, the capital of Honan. There were 18 divisions with about 140000 men. The II. The second zone, the most important in terms of size, was located to the west of the first zone on the Hoangho, and then turned north and ran along the north-south course of the Hoangho to Pautau in the north. It included 37 divisions with about 240,000 men. The III Zone was located south of Hangchow, the furthest east of the Chinese Empire. The Vth Zone

was attacked in the Japanese offensive on the Han River northwest of Hankau. The strongest was the IV. Zone with 39 divisions and 320000 men. It extended south Yochow and Nanchang and had Changcha as its center. Other war zones included the areas of Chungking, Chengtu, Nanning to the French border, north of Canton and in Mongolia in the provinces of Ninghsia and Suiyuan. These zones could be considered as a kind of military districts. On August 20, Japanese naval troops landed on Haimen Island off Swatau and occupied it.

In August, Siam, which had adopted the name Thailand, also came forward and asserted claims to the territories previously taken from it by France and added to Indochina. On August 20, English rule in the International Settlement at Shanghai came to an end when the last troops, the Seaforth Highlanders, boarded ships to be transported first to Hong Kong. The British had been there for nearly 100 years. The last British squadron, 200 locally recruited recruits, embarked on August 26. The relatives of the soldiers previously stationed in China made their way to Australia.

The unsettled status of the Dutch Indies after Holland's defeat in Europe had already led to an exchange of notes between the great powers, with America emphasizing that it wished the status of the Dutch Indies to be maintained. Japan saw fit, before the American petroleum companies approached the Dutch Indies, to register its own needs there. The mission was entrusted to the new Minister of Trade and Industry, Ichizo Kobayashi, who had a great reputation far beyond Japan's borders as a manager of large industrial plants and had paid a visit to Germany a few weeks earlier.

The Japanese had discovered another place on the Chinese coast where goods could be unloaded to Chungking. The place is halfway between Hong Kong and Swatau and is called Kieschiwci. The navy had little trouble breaking Chinese resistance in the walled city.

On August 31, an agreement in principle was reached on the settlement of relations between Japan and the new Chinese government of Wang Ching-weis. General Abe then went to Tokyo and reported to Prime Minister Prince Konoye on October 29.

For the next few weeks, military operations were almost exclusively focused on fighting Chinese guerrilla detachments, mainly in Shansi, where a volunteer student corps also appeared. For the most part, the guerrillas were intent on disrupting the railroads, and they also disrupted the resumption of work in the industrial plants that were working for the Japanese.

Among the ambassadors recalled was the Japanese ambassador to Moscow, Togo, who had done much to improve relations between Japan and Soviet Russia. He was succeeded, surprisingly, by a military man, Lieutenant General Tate- kawa, who was joined by Envoy Nishi, who had already been an embassy councilor in Moscow and was well oriented about the still unsettled conflict materials, fishing rights, and oil and coal concessions on Sakhalin. Togo was given a particularly attentive farewell by the Soviet authorities in Moscow.

General Nishihara negotiated the border crossing from Indochina to Chung- king with the Governor General of Indochina, Decoux. The latter had protested in Chungking because Chinese troops in Indochinese territory had destroyed the bridge at Laokay on September 10. Air traffic from Kunming and from Chungking to Hanoi was suspended by the Eurasia Aviation Company and by the Chinese National Aviation Company. France rejected Thailand's demand that it return territories formerly belonging to Siam. The news that a three-hour conference had been held at the Imperial Palace on September 20, attended by the prime minister and foreign minister, the ministers of war, navy and finance, and the chief of the general staff, Prince Kanin, raised eyebrows. Also present were the Chairman of the State Council, Hara, and the Chief of the Planning Bureau, Hoshino. It was announced that careful consultations were held on important national matters. These could be matters of domestic as well as foreign policy. In a week, the secret was to be revealed.

First, there was a surprise in another place. On September 22, 4:30 p.m., a Japanese-French agreement was signed at a hotel in Haiphong which, General Nishihara pointed out, ensured friendly and positive cooperation between Japan and France in the settlement of Chinese affairs. The next day it was announced that France had agreed to allow Japan to place 6000 garrison troops in Tongking and to march 23000 men through Tongking to South China. France had also conceded the establishment of Japanese airports in Tonking. However, before the arrangements had become known to the French border troops, the first Japanese troops on land moved into Tongking via the border town of Dondang. Gun battles broke out and the French commander of Dongdang, Lieutenant Colonel Loubet, was killed. The weak French border troops were overwhelmed and captured by the Japanese, later released. By occupying northern Indochina, Japan had gained the appropriate deployment area against Chungking, but beyond that, it had scored a strategic success, against England.

After China had closed all routes to overseas from its own coast, because all ports on 2800 kilometers extension were occupied or supervised by the Japanese, Chungking was still left with overland routes, which were initially withdrawn from the Japanese grasp. These included the passage through Indochina via Nanning to Chungking, where only the section of the planned railroad to Lungchow was available, as well as via the Yünnan Railway to Kunming and on to Chungking. These routes had become unusable due to the described agreements between Japan and France. No less important was the access route from Burma (British Hind Indies) from Rangoon to the Chinese border and further on the new Burma Road to Kunming and Chungking.

On June 24, 1940, the Japanese government approached the British government for the first time and made representations to it about the continuous shipments of war materials through Hong Kong and Burma in support of Chiang Kai-shek. On July 8, the British ambassador, on instructions from his government, which had already been softened by the German blows in France, sought out Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka and explained that his government had recently blocked shipments through Hong Kong. The Ambassador believed that this was in compliance with Japanese wishes. The Japanese Foreign Minister expressed that this response was in no way sufficient and asked for reconsideration of the Japanese request. The British had not said a word about Burma. Japan succeeded, through further negotiations, in getting England to agree to a treaty concluded in Tokyo on July 17, 1940, with the following wording:

"1. The export of arms and ammunition from Hong Kong has been prohibited since January 1939. None of the

War materials, which the Japanese government attaches importance to, are currently exported and shall be exported in the future. The export of those goods whose export is prohibited by Burma as mentioned above shall be prohibited in Hong Kong.

2. The British Government undertakes to prohibit the transit through Burma of arms and ammunition as well as petroleum, trucks and railroad material for a period of three months from July 18 this year

3. Japanese consular officials in Hong Kong and Yangon will remain in close contact with the British authorities to monitor the measures to be taken to make this ban effective."

In the three months that the agreement ran, England's situation in Europe had not improved at all. In the Far East, too, England's prestige had sunk to zero after the British troops had left Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai. If, therefore, England did not extend the July 17 agreement, but wanted to let the transports from Rangoon across the Burma Straits to Chungking run again, there must have been something else behind this action. It did not require much reflection to find out the source that had incited England to its move: America. Initially, it was mercantile interests that asserted themselves in America. American exporters, along with English ones, had used the three months of prohibition to

build up large warehouses of goods in Rangoon, the contents of which would now make their way to Chungking once the Burma Road was reopened. More important still was the political side of the matter, since America wanted to exert a new pressure on Japan to make it cease its action against Chiang Kai- shek, which had not yet succeeded in any other way. On October 17, a great celebration was held on the Chinese border in Burma territory because the first transport was to be set in motion the next day. In fact, it crossed the border at 12:01 a.m. on October 18. In the meantime, however, Japan had anticipated these events with its September 23 agreement with France. Immediately, the Japanese air force was deployed against the Burma Road. In a few days, two of the major road bridges over the Mekong and Salween were destroyed and further destruction was carried out on the road itself. The British and American exporters lost out and were able to make up their loss accounts. For China, however, this route to the outside world was also blocked. There remained only one last and very arduous one, the so-called "Red Road" from Soviet Russia via Chinese Turkestan and Kansu to Szechuan.

XIV. THE THREE-POWER PACT

The presentation of these events has gone beyond the target point that should have been set: The conclusion of the Three-Power Pact between Germany, Italy and Japan in Berlin on September 27, 1940. The pact has a longer history, which must precede its evaluation.

A causal connection of the Three-Power Pact with the agreement against anti-state elements, which first Germany and Japan concluded on November 25 and to which Italy acceded on November 6, 1937, cannot be denied. This agreement was something quite new in international politics because it bound three states together on an ideological basis. Such goals were not alien to Japan, which had introduced a law against dangerous thoughts years before. Nevertheless, the political content of the agreement could not be denied. The Führer Adolf Hitler himself gave this interpretation when he emphasized before the old guard in Munich on November 9, 1937, that these three states had come together for reasons of expediency, first in the European axis and now in the great world political triangle. Nevertheless, the agreement lacked the character of an alliance. This did not come about until May 1939 between Germany and Italy. Japan initially stood on the sidelines in this relationship. There were, however, Japanese circles that advocated a closer alliance with the Axis. A

19 Mossdorf, East Asia particular proponent was the Japanese ambassador in Berlin, Lieutenant General Oshima, who found in Ambassador Shiratori in Rome a like-minded partner in his thinking. On January 20, 1939, a conference of Japanese ambassadors was held in Paris to discuss the possibility of transforming the 1936 agreement into a military alliance. Participants in the conference were the ambassadors in Paris, London, Berlin, Brussels, and Warsaw and the envoy in Bern. That they acted in full agreement with their government was evident from the fact that Foreign Minister Arita declared in the Tokyo House of Representatives on January 21, 1939, that the more the agreement with Germany and Italy was extended, the more it would be a guarantee of world peace. In early August 1939, Oshima and Shiratori met at the historic Villa d'Este on Lake Como, where in May Reich Foreign Minister v. Ribbentrop had met with Italian Foreign Minister Count Ciano to finalize the German-Italian military alliance, and again to consider the advisability of Japan's close association with the Axis. On August 9, Shiratori was back in Rome where he made a statement that appeared in the international press. He said, "Japan's decision to join the Axis military alliance has nothing to do with the situation in Tientsin or

with Anglo-Japanese negotiations in Tokyo. Nor does it have anything to do with the cancellation by the United States of its trade treaty with Japan. Further. Japan's decision regarding a European military alliance also has nothing to do with the negotiations between England, France and Soviet Russia. Our decisions were made before any of these events occurred. My conversations with our ambassador in Berlin dealt with the draft, the establishment of which had been a done deal for some time. Some time ago it was said that Japan had dropped its intention to join the Alliance. This is not so. It takes time when negotiating treaties. We had to work out the final details in these negotiations that would satisfy all who were concerned. After my conversation in Cer- nobbio with Mr. Oshima, I told the Italian press that no one in Japan was in any doubt about the outcome of our decision. It did not occur to me to betray a secret, because everyone in Japan knew about it. I was amazed to see how the newspapers, especially in America, made a big deal of this fact, since an alliance between Japan and the Axis is the natural course of events. Indeed. The alliance was a done deal several months ago. Only details remained to be settled."

Germany's conclusion of a pact with Soviet Russia on August 23, 1939, struck Japan like a thunderbolt, as mentioned earlier. The Hiranuma Cabinet resigned and Ambassador Oshima was recalled, having previously delivered a formal protest against the pact with Soviet Russia to the German government on behalf of his government, because it was felt in Tokyo that Germany's action was contrary to the spirit of the 1935 agreement. In its consternation, Tokyo had been somewhat hasty in its decisions, which may have been due to the fact that it did not wait for the full text of the pact with Moscow before taking a stand. How else could the Foreign Office spokesman have formulated the view that it was not yet clear whether the pact with Moscow gave Soviet Russia a free hand vis-à-vis Japan? He even added that it would be quite natural to interpret the pact in this sense. The press partly gushed
and spoke earnestly of Japan resuming the traditional policy with England.

It took some time for the excitement to subside. This was the case when it became clear that the German-Russian pact had brought benefits and relief even to Japan in its warfare in China.

The three-hour conference at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo on September 20, mentioned in the preceding section, now took on its special face, for one can probably rightly conclude that the final decisions on the conclusion of the pact with Germany and Italy were taken there. Among the Japanese people the ground had already been favorably prepared for the coming events. On August 12, an anti-England rally attended by several thousand people had taken place in Hibiya Park, in the heart of Tokyo, at which the strengthening of the Tokyo-Rome-Berlin axis was emphasized. Resolutions were passed and forwarded to the Japanese government and the ambassadors of Germany and Italy. In the address to the ambassadors, the meeting vowed to destroy England's power by strengthening the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis and to cooperate with Germany and Italy in establishing a new world order. Similar assemblies were held in Hamamatsu, Nagoya, Nara, Wakayama, Takamatsu, Kochi, Marugame, and Nagasaki.

So September 27, 1940 approached and with it the day of the signing of the Three-Power Pact in Berlin in the Reich Chancellery by Reich Foreign Minister v. Ribbentrop, Foreign Minister Count Ciano and Ambassador Kurusu. The pact has the following wording:

"The Governments of Germany, Italy and Japan regard it as a condition of lasting peace that each nation of the world, should be given its due. They have therefore decided to stand side by side and cooperate in their endeavors in the Greater Asian area and in the European territories, their foremost aim being to create and maintain a new order of things suitable to promote the prosperity and welfare of the peoples there.

Art. i. Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in creating a new order in Europe.

Art. 2. Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the creation of a new order in the Greater Asia region.
Art. 3. Germany, Italy and Japan agree to cooperate in their efforts on the basis indicated above. They further undertake to assist each other by all political, economic, and military means in the event of any of the three contracting parts being attacked by a power not at present involved in the European or Sino-Japanese conflict.
Art. 4. In order to carry the present Pact into effect, joint technical commissions shall meet without delay, the members of which shall be appointed by the Governments of Germany, Italy and Japan.
Art. 5. Germany, Italy and Japan declare that the foregoing arrangements in no way affect the political status at present existing between each of the three contracting parties and Soviet Russia.
Art. 6. the present Covenant shall enter into force immediately upon signature and shall remain in force for 10 years from the date of its entry into force.
In due time before the expiry of this period, the High Contracting Parties shall, if one of them so requests, enter into negotiations on its renewal.
In witness whereof, the undersigned, being duly authorized by their Governments, have signed and affixed their seals to this Covenant.
Issued in triplicate in Berlin on September 27, 1940 - in the XVII year of the Fascist era - corresponding to the 27th day of the 9th month of the ij. Year Syowa."
. The closest relations that states can enter into with each other were established with this pact. It is a veritable military alliance which met the requirements of the times, as the three states had always wanted to be understood, by taking space as its basis for the first time in history. The world-political triangle of which the Führer had spoken in Munich in 1937 had now become a complete fact. Soviet Russia's special position and that of the three powers in relation to Moscow had been taken into account. A clear warning was addressed to an unnamed state, which was not difficult to guess: America. In the future it would be confronted with the combined strength of the three peoples of over 250 million if it were to interfere in the final phase of the solution of the problems in Europe or in East Asia or if it were to attack one of the three pact powers.
Why did Japan willingly join the pact with Germany and Italy? The problems discussed in the preceding sections and the description of the developments that led to the conclusion of the pact already gave the answer to this question. An official statement of the Japanese government on the conclusion of the pact clearly revealed the motives. According to it, the efforts of certain states to disrupt the establishment of the new order in East Asia were becoming increasingly worrisome. Japan therefore sought association with like-minded nations, which it found in Germany and Italy. New order in Europe and new order in East Asia, this brought the three pact powers together.
And what did China say? Conferences were held in Chungking to discuss the three-power pact in detail. Perhaps somewhat hastily, on the day after the signing, Foreign Minister Wang Chung- hui took the floor on the conclusion of the Pact. His comments were a complete rejection of the pact, based on the statement that China could not accept the role of leadership in the Greater Asia region accorded to Japan by Germany and Italy. Such leadership by Japan would violate the world order built on the principle of equal rights for all. Consequently, China could never recognize the so-called reorganization of the Greater East Asia and the so-called leadership of Japan in this area. This statement shows that Chungking had not yet recognized the change in the world that had come about with the Three-Power Pact. China was still too much under the impression of the struggle with Japan.
No one doubts that the Chinese have achieved unexpected things in many respects in the difficult struggle they have had to endure. Even the Japanese are not afraid to make this admission. The Chinese armies were defeated in many battles and engagements, but not annihilated. The Chinese government

built a new state in the distant western areas shortly in the middle of the war period. Chinese generals who failed in the field were severely punished, but no one rose up against the government to pursue his own ambition according to former customs. If Wang Ching-wei, whom Chungking branded a high traitor, left Chiang Kai-shek to head the new Chinese government, he is not just any personality, but a man with a name and reputation to represent. He has courageously placed himself in the ranks of men who advocate a new order in East Asia and recognize Japan's leadership without thereby abandoning their national self-consciousness. The three powers of the Berlin Pact rejected the thesis of the status quo that had been ridden to death and professed dynamism in the life of nations. At the same time, they have given the history of their peoples, which they themselves are writing, a tempo to which other nations that want to cling to the traditional have not yet been able to get used. One would think that China, which has had the fight against unequal treaties written on its banner for years, would come to realize that those states which were so concerned about its welfare had quite different goals in mind and wanted to meet the state with which China should go hand in hand for the good of the peoples of East Asia.
With regard to Chungking's negative attitude toward the Three-Power Pact, two Japanese personalities have expressed their views, who, as a result of their detailed knowledge of events, are justified in expressing their views openly. The Japanese Ambassador in Berlin, Saburo Kurusu, pointed out Japan's endeavor to nullify the political intrigues of England and America in China, which always provided the background for unrest in East Asia. Japan wanted to establish a peace empire among the Eastern peoples in the Greater Asian region, in which they could support each other and cooperate with each other. This was how Japan envisioned the reorganization it undertook. In addition, Japan saw in the three-power pact a unity that, also materially, held infinite possibilities in the development of natural resources.
No less competent in these matters appeared Toshio Shiratori, former Japanese ambassador in Rome and adviser in the Japanese Foreign Ministry in the cabinet of Prince Konoye. Reference was made to his services in the preparation of the Three-Power Pact. He considered that the three powers, with regard to the failures of the past, had taken a completely new path, not tried before, to solve the most important problems of mankind. In this he saw the fundamental meaning of the pact. The goal is the creation of a new world order that will bring individualistic and democratic ideas to extinction and elevate the totalitarian worldview to a fundamental principle essentially influencing human society.
Shiratori viewed the war in East Asia as a conflict between the individualistic worldview and the spirit of "Kodo," the "imperial way," which had persisted and been guarded and nurtured by the Japanese people since the founding of the Japanese Empire. The New Order movement appears to him as an ideological and cultural movement to eliminate the individualistic worldview and return to the very essence of humanity. Such an upheaval, unique in the history of the world, could not be carried out overnight, but the establishment of the new order had already begun in Europe and in Asia, in order to proceed with even greater acceleration in the future.
Japan gained an increase in its freedom of movement by joining with Germany and Italy in the Three-Power Pact. This had to be said in America as well.
At the end of these considerations, the text of the message that the leader Adolf Hitler addressed to the Japanese nation on the occasion of the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese Empire should be placed. The uniqueness of this message is significantly increased by its valuable content. The message reads:
"I extend the greetings of Germany to the friendly Japanese nation on the occasion of the 2600th anniversary of the uninterrupted existence of their Imperial House. I commemorate with the German people in admiration the achievement which has been accomplished in the building of the Japanese Empire during this long period. With pride the Japanese people may remember that no enemy has ever been able to enter their islands as masters, and that it is by this very fact that their race has been preserved pure for thousands of years.

Japan can see with satisfaction that its influence in the East Asian region and its standing in the world have grown steadily, and that today, as the leading power of East Asia, it can lay claim to shaping the new order of a better and fairer world together with the leading powers of our continent.
It is therefore with sincere joy that I extend my congratulations today to the friendly Japanese people. Japan, which is engaged in a hard struggle with the German and Italian people for its vital rights, will - drawing on its heroic tradition - achieve the goal which destiny has set for it: a successful peace in a secure living space."
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